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HISTORY OF OREGON



MOUNT HOOD, OREGON

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HISTORY OF OREGON

THE GROWTH OF AN AMERICAN STATE

BY

HORACE S. LYMAN

ASSOCIATE BOARD OF EDITORS

HARVEY W. SCOTT CHARLES B. BELLINGER

AND

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VOLUME ONE



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TO

THOMAS CONDON

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON,

PIONEER OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON THE NORTHWEST COAST,

THIS HISTORY IS DEDICATED;

NOT AS ANY FITTING TRIBUTE TO HIS WORK IN THIS STATE,

BUT AS SOME ACKNOWLEDGMENT,

HOWEVER SLIGHT,

OF A DEEPLY INDEBTED PUPIL.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS

CHAPTER I

THE LAND 41–56

Extent of Territory—Topographical Features—As the Coast Looks from the Ocean—Forested Ranges—Siskiyous—Olympics—Interior Valleys—The Second Mountain Step—The Continental Basin—Sunrise Across the Rockies—Growth and Elevation of the Land—Its Part in Determining the History.

CHAPTER II

FIRST INHABITANTS 57–84

The Native Indians—An Important Element in the History of Oregon—As They Appeared to the First Explorers—Not a Decaying Race—Tribes and Families—Dispersion over the Territory—Industries and Arts—Languages—Origin.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN IDEAS AS ILLUSTRATED BY THEIR MYTHS, 85–118

How a People Acts Is Determined by What They Think—Legendary Lore of Indians very Extensive—Stories "That Last All Day"—Specimens from Various Tribes—The Clatsop Legend of Tallapus, the Coyote, and the Cedar Tree—The Chehalis Story of Tsmpts-Tsmpts and the Giant, or Cheatco—Spokane Story of Sinchaleep—The Nez Perce Story of the Coyote and the Monster of Kamiah—The Klamath Story of the Bear and the Antelope.

CHAPTER IV

CREATION STORIES OF THE INDIANS 119–160

Falls of the Willamette and the Wonderful Boy—Falls of the Klamath—Making of the Cascades of the Columbia—Fire Stories—Rocks and Caverns—Klamath Version of Creation of Man—Rationale of Indian Myths.

CHAPTER V

INDIAN TRADITIONS OF THE FIRST WHITE MEN 161–178

Recollections of Celiast, Daughter of Kobaiway—The Initial Point, the Mouth of the Columbia—Clatsop Plains—Nekahni Mountain—Nehalem River—The Treasure Ship—A Chest Deposited on the Mountain Side, with Murdered Man—Wreck of the Beeswax Ship—White Survivors Killed—A Possible Survivor of the Massacre—The Lost Ship "San Jose"—Shipwreck Near the Mouth of the Columbia—"Men, Who Yet Are Bears"—Tlohonipts—The Bearded White Man, Konapee—Popcorn—Cash—Sote, Mentioned Afterwards by Franchere—Date of Konapee's Shipwreck—Valuable Results to the Clatsops—Who Become a Powerful Tribe—Hold the Columbia River Open for Trade to the Dalles—Valuable Results to Civilization.

CHAPTER VI

ENERGY OF SPANISH DISCOVERERS 179–192

Best Part of North America and South America Subjugated Within Fifty Years—

Motive in Discovery—In Answer to Economic Need of the World—Fell Short of Oregon—Fernando Cortez—Captain General of New Spain—Grandee of Castile and Marquis of Oaxaca—Expedition to Lower California—Nuno de Guzman—Hurtado de Mendoza—Friar Marcos—Cibola and the Seven Cities—Voyages of Cabrillo and Ferrelo on the Oregon Coast.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPANISH IN THE PACIFIC 193–218

The Route to Asia—The Conquest of the Philippines—Friar Urdanata's Discovery of True Sailing Route—Acapolco—Manila and Macao—The Pacific a "Spanish Lake"—Regulations to Insure Perpetual Control—North Pacific Coast Neglected—Necessity of Exploration at Length Recognized—Philip II's Order to Monterey—Expedition of Vizcaino—Philip III—Aguilar's Discovery—Cape Blanco Seen—First Historical Landing on the Oregon Coast—Spanish Quiescence; One Hundred and Sixty Years Without Further Discovery—Colonization of the Californias—Jesuits in the Lower Section—Colonists in the Upper—San Diego—Failure at Monterey; Supply Ship Lost—1774-'79—Three New Expeditions—Juan Perez—Bodega and Heceta—First Observation of the Columbia River—Bodega and Maurelle—Arteaga—Reasons for Spanish Failure to Occupy the Land—Character and Government.

CHAPTER VIII

ROMANTIC VOYAGES AND PRETENDED DISCOVERIES 219–240

Gaspar Cortereal—Straits of Anian—Report of Urdanata—Laderillo—Maldonado Fonte's Story of Northern Lakes and Passages—Juan de Fuca—Michael Lock's Deposition—Influence of Such Narratives Upon Literature—"Dr. Gulliver."

CHAPTER IX

THE ENGLISH IN THE PACIFIC 241–272

Demand for Free Navigation—Early Champions of Liberty on the Seas—Queen Elizabeth—John Hawkins—Oxenham—Sir Francis Drake—Great Spoil—"The Golden Hind"—Strikes Terror to the Spanish-American Coasts—Return Voyage—"A Fair and Good Bay"—New Albion—Thomas Cavendish—Discoveries in the North—Hudson—Baffin—The Hudson's Bay Company—Two Hundred Years of Quiescence—Triumph of England in North America—Fall of Quebec—Renewed Enterprises in the Pacific—Byron—Wallis—Cook—Cook's Last Great Voyage—Sights the Oregon Coast—Names Cape Flattery—Friendly Cove — Natives — Furs — Englishmen in China Trade—James Hanna—Meares and Tipping—London Company—Portlock and Dixon—Duncan and Colnett—Berkeley (Barclay)—Straits of Fuca Discovered 1787—Meares Sights an Inlet—Deception Bay—Cape Disappointment.

CHAPTER X

RUSSIA IN THE PACIFIC 273–294

The Czar of Russia—His Empire an Expanding Power—Slavic Inertia, Norse Restlessness—Projects of Peter the Great—Catharine I—Vitus Bering, Alexis Tchirikof, Martin Spangberg Discovers the Straits—Second Voyage—Return and Death of Bering—Fur Trade Prosecuted by Russians—Route Across Asia—Catharine II—Krenitzin and Lavaschef—The Poles—Seelikoff and Golikoff—Joseph Billings—Hall and Sarytscef—Emperor Paul—The Russian-American Company—New Archangel—System of Despotism—Alexander Baranoff—Voyage of Inspection by Krusenstern—Resanoff—Attempt to Plant a Grain Producing Colony Near the Mouth of the Columbia—Russia Claims as Far South as Mouth of Columbia.

CHAPTER XI

THE DUTCH AND FRENCH IN THE PACIFIC . . 295–306

Hardy Dutch Navigators—Le Maire and Van Schouten Discover Cape Horn—Tasman in the South Sea—French Propinquity—Land Expeditions—Voyage of La Perouse—Off the Oregon Coast—A Royal Expedition and Failure.

CHAPTER XII

FIRST MOVEMENTS WESTWARD BY LAND . . . 307–326

Reports of Indians of the River of the West—Moncachtabe's Story—Jonathan Carver—Travels into the Region of the "Mesorie"—

"The Four Most Capital Rivers of America" —"The Oregon"—Where Did the Name Originate?—Efforts of British Fur Companies —Hearne's Expedition—Alexander Mackenzie—England's Expectation to Secure the Territory Through Commercial Occupation.

CHAPTER XIII

FINAL STEP IN BRITISH DISCOVERY 327–368

Voyage of Captain George Vancouver—Conditions Making the Voyage Advisable—Tangled Threats—Fears and Efforts of the Spanish—Growth of the Fur Trade—American Vessels in the Pacific—Reports of American Discoveries—Vancouver Sails—Equipment—Arrival off the Coast of Oregon—Prosperous Journey Northward—Clear Observations—Off the Columbia River—Conclusions —Delightful Voyage up the Coast of Washington—Mt. Olympus Sighted—Captain Gray Met—Enters the Straits of Fuca—Up the Straits—Magnificent Scenery—A Snow-capped Mountain Sighted and Named for Baker—Up the Canal—Up the Sound—Admiralty Inlet Named—Natives—A Stupendous Mountain—Named Ranier—Still Another Mountain Southward—Sails Around and Names Vancouver's Island—Departs for California—Attempts to Enter the Columbia—Broughton's Examination of the Columbia River—Reaches a Point 100 Miles Interior—Sights and Names a Magnificent Conical Mountain for Admiral Hood—Broughton's Conclusions.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Mount Hood.....Frontispiece
Indian Village at the Entrance of Bute's Canal.....Facing page 60
A Chinook Lodge.....Facing page 70
Cheslake's Village in Johnstone's Straits.....Facing page 80
The Cascades of the Columbia River.....Facing page 132
Carta Marina, 1548.....Facing page 182
Fernando Cortes.....Facing page 188
The Nancy Globe.....Facing page 196
Zaltieri's Map, 1566.....Facing page 204
Wytfliet-Ptolemy Map, 1597, No. 1.....Facing page 212
Wytfliet-Ptolemy Map, 1597, No. 2.....Facing page 216
Maldonado's Strait of Anian, 1609.....Facing page 224
Lok's Map, 1582.....Facing page 232
Thomas Cavendish.....Facing page 236
Sir John Hawkins.....Facing page 244
Sir Francis Drake.....Facing page 248
King Charles II.....Facing page 252
Captain James Cook.....Facing page 256
Cook's Map, 1778.....Facing page 262
Captain Nathaniel Portlock.....Facing page 266
Captain John Meares.....Facing page 270
J. Russell's Map.....Facing page 288
Dutch Map.....Facing page 298
Carver's Map, 1778.....Facing page 312
Alexander Mackenzie.....Facing page 322
Queen Elizabeth.....Facing page 330
Captain George Vancouver.....Facing page 334
Vancouver's Map, 1793.....Facing page 338
Entrance to Strait of De Fuca.....Facing page 342
Four Remarkable Poles in Port Townsend.....Facing page 350
Mount Ranier from the South Part of Admiralty Inlet.....Facing page 352
The "Discovery" on the Rocks in Queen Charlotte's Sound.....Facing page 356
Launch of the "Northwest America".....Facing page 366

PREFACE

THIS history of Oregon is in response to a demand, as public events of great significance are approaching, for a connected, yet not too much extended, narrative covering the whole period, from the first discoveries on the Pacific Coast until the present time. The treatment necessarily embraces some account of the two sister States of Washington and Idaho, with connections also with Montana and British Columbia. Oregon, indeed, particularly that portion near the lower Columbia River, was the initial point of settlement of the entire Pacific Coast of North America, and has been the center from which American influence has extended southward and northward; until finally crossing the ocean.

The object held in view has been to relate, in as comprehensible a way as might be, the process by which, step by step, this country was absorbed into the American Union. In order to do this it has been found convenient to follow a logical rather than a chronological arrangement. A remark by William Hartpoole Lecky, in the preface of his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," may be applied here. He says:—"In order to do justice to them [the permanent national concerns] it is necessary to suppress much that has purely biographical, party, or military interest; and I have not hesitated in some

cases to depart from the strict order of chronology. The history of an institution, or a tendency, can only be written by collecting into a single focus facts that are spread over many years; and such matters may be more clearly treated according to the order of subjects than according to the order of time."

This seemed in particular to be the only effective treatment of the earlier portions, embracing the period of discoveries. Choice is sometimes above time, in effecting historical changes; and the logical order, illustrating the choice of the actors, becomes an explication and critique of national character. It is remembered, too, in following this arrangement, that this work is intended to be for easy reference, and arrangement by subjects rather than by dates would best answer the purpose. Nevertheless many things that men's choices alone would not have brought to any solution were settled at length by the simple course of events. Hence, while attempting to bring single subjects into a single focus, we have tried also to group subjects so as to recognize the grand order of time; and, also, the conclusions of Providence. In the history of Oregon we find—and it hardly seems as but a fond prejudice—that the evolution has been to favor those especially intrusted with the doctrine of human rights and liberties; and where fate has seemed to pause, and the balance to oscillate, it was only that in the hesitancy of the event, some character might be developed who understood the meaning of the hour, and became able

to concentrate the forces that would sway the future in accordance with previous indications of this purpose. But it is not intended by the writer, either here, or later, to predispose the reader to his own interpretation of events. The conclusions of all are wiser than of any one. Apart from the idea of placing in convenient form the information that the day requires, he will be entirely satisfied, if on account of this effort a more general study of our history is induced, and opinions based on reliable facts are independently reached. Nor is it by any means claimed that here is wrought out a perfected essay on the simple bare facts of our history; much remains to be done by specialists for many years yet, before a complete critical history of Oregon can be produced. While trying to avoid errors as far as possible, it cannot be hoped that none will be found; but these, perhaps, if found, may be avoided in a later edition.

To the Board of Editors, exclusive of the writer, whose fitness for the task is everywhere recognized, is due both a great part of the arrangement, and the critical finish. As a labor of good-will this should be remembered by the reader as well as mentioned by the writer. The inception of the work, as well as the business management in Oregon, is due to Mr. O. F. Vedder, long connected with similar works in the Eastern States, and to some extent on this coast; and his belief that this community would now support a strictly historical undertaking has been abundantly justified. Special thanks are also due the

Oregon Historical Society for furnishing not only in its officers the editorial aid, but in its collection of matter, and in the personal courtesies of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. George H. Himes, an assistance without which the work could not have been completed. The value to this, and to all future works of the kind, of the Portland Library, and the courtesy of its officers, should also be gratefully acknowledged.

To Mr. Frederick V. Holman special acknowledgment should be made for valuable assistance in obtaining illustrations.

No effort or expense has been spared by the publishers to furnish all available historical pictures, autographs, maps, and documents; and without doubt the collection far exceeds anything to be seen elsewhere on the subject. This feature alone gives the work much more than ordinary value, and makes it, apart from a modest estimate of the text, a publication that would be a credit to any State.

H. S. Lyman.

Astoria, Oregon, December 1, 1902.

CHAPTER I

The Land

OREGON, considered historically, comprises the land bordering upon the Pacific Ocean from California on the south to British Columbia on the north, and extending as far easterly as the summits of the Rocky Mountains. It thus originally included what has since been divided into the territorially great States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming.

The geographical features of this extensive region are familiar. It looks upon the Pacific from a mountain range which is not greatly elevated, but affords almost numberless bold headlands ramifying from the western spurs and jutting upon the waves. The actual height of these hills is appreciably increased to the view by the dense and almost unbroken evergreen forests, more heavy to the north, that rise rank after rank from water's edge to farthest peaks. On account of " the continuous woods " the sea slope remains still a wilderness, as it was at the first discovery, and for ages before; but in a scenic point of view a compensation has been given in a certain somber splendor of tints of blue and purple, scarcely varying year in and year out, unless under the effects of an occasional snow fall in winter, or of the hazy or smoky air of autumn lending various hues of bronze or saffron.

The highlands of the coast mountains occur at the extreme south, where the granitic Siskiyous lift dome-shaped summits that until late in summer are

white with snow, and are visible far at sea; and at the extreme north, where the Olympic Mountains break down from snow-capped ridges to the ocean, and overlook the straits that form their northern terminal, as they also front upon the system of inlets and sounds that separate their outskirts from the second and much more lofty mountain steppe. To the eye of the mariner the weather coast of both Oregon and Washington has ever presented a warning front. Rocks, in reality of large dimensions, being three or four hundred feet in height, seem dwarfed in the greater elevation of the capes or mountains beyond; and even broad bays and arms of the sea seem to be hidden in the reflected hues of the prevailing forests, or are obscured behind the lines of breakers dashing on the rocks or rolling on the sands. A profound respect, amounting to awe or dread, may be noticed working upon the minds of all who first approach the coasts of Oregon.

Little indication is given to those coming from the sea that this somber range, that appears always to be wrapped in some mysteriousness of its own, is penetrated by unnumbered valleys, and is also a deep region of rivers and streams, and that between its stormy headlands are many cozy nooks and inviting shores, and not a few ample harbors. It is a shadowy and hidden sort of land, being often covered under a drapery of clouds, or mist, or the remnants of storms left shredded in the hollows. It seems so bold and compact, also, that no intimation is afforded

that the occasional snow peaks seen over them in summer from the ocean, such as Ranier, St. Helens, or Hood, are not only still more lofty elevations of the same wilderness of mountains. Nor to the voyager, painfully buffeting his way, and fearing nothing so much as to be cast upon a blank weather shore, is any sign given of the great interior valleys lying broad and beautiful beyond the timbered coast hills. Though exceeding in area some of the most populous portions of Spain or Italy, these valleys are made known, even in fancy, only to the laborious traveler who climbs the hills, or overcomes the currents of the rivers.

The valley system west of the Cascade Mountains extends northward from the Siskiyous, and terminates only upon the inlets and gulfs connecting with the sea by the Straits of Fuca. Though essentially one, this system is crossed and recrossed by low hills, and only in the country watered by the Willamette, presents extensive plains. On the northern end, down as low as the Columbia, and even farther, investing the range of hills that forms its southern bank to the mouth of the Willamette, is the covering of universal forest, giving to Washington very fittingly the name of "Evergreen State." This forest belt, of the fir and pines, is easily observed to follow the line of the heavier spring and summer rainfall brought by the fresh sea winds up the Columbia, distributing greater moisture as far southward as the Willamette Falls, and thence diagonally southeast-

ward, until uniting with the next great forest belt with which the Cascade Mountains are clad. However, the greater portion of the valley system, which lies southward from the Willamette Falls to the California border, and on the west side under the shelter of the Coast Hills, has been from all known times an open country, only diversified with belts of forests, or fringes of trees along the water courses, or with groves on the north sides of the slopes. It is the land of the oak, which seeks the lower elevations and seems to select situations where one grove may look across an unobstructed plain to another cluster of companionable trees at the horizon's edge. The white oak is the species most seen in the Willamette Valley; the black being very abundant to the southward. The prairie condition of the valleys of western Oregon has been maintained to no small extent by the custom of the Indians, followed until the settlement by the whites, of burning over the country every autumn. The object is said to have been to keep down the brush, so as to make deer hunting easier; and also to mature and partially cook the seeds of a certain plant used for food.

The Cascade Mountains, the most commanding physical feature of Oregon and Washington, being an unbroken chain extending from the Sierras of California, of which they are the continuation, and not sinking until they enter the regions of Alaska, are here one of the great ranges of the world. There is nothing of mountain grandeur or beauty that is

not exemplified in their fastnesses. They reach such an elevation, to use the language of an earlier writer, "as to arrest the clouds, and to rise into the regions of perpetual snow." The evergreen forests disappear from their slopes only at the snow line. Alpine valleys, carved by action of old glaciers, watered with snow-fed streams, and with park-like expanses set with groves of alpine trees and banks of the most gorgeous flowers, render the Cascade uplands a region of surpassing beauty. The number of peaks that rise into the regions of perpetual snow, from eight thousand feet elevation upward, especially in northern Washington, may be counted only by the hundreds. The greater peaks, of which Ranier is highest, are chiefly of volcanic origin.

The description of this range of mountains, quoted above, is not simply descriptive; it is also scientifically exact. The Cascade Mountains by their great elevation do, in fact, arrest the clouds and precipitate the greater portion of the moisture of the sea winds. On their eastern slopes the eye is met with the hues of the desert. The forests, expanded first to open glades, then to lonely pine, are quickly left, and the great elevated plateau, or continental basin, stretches away to an unbounded horizon north and south, in the glowing colors and palpitating heat, in summer, of the treeless sunland. Purple and gold, mingled with the gray or reddish tints of naked rocks, are the prevailing hues. Here extends a region about five hundred miles square—an area exceeding in ex-

tent that of many a storied empire. From all directions, except that portion of Oregon which belongs to the Nevada basin, it shelves toward a common center near the confluence of the two main arms of the Columbia River, in the State of Washington. Although the water courses bearing the surplus thaw of the ranges to the central artery, are long, yet so great is the general elevation, being three to four thousand feet at the bases of the most distant mountains, that the entire basin has been ribbed and channeled in an almost inconceivable fashion; the bare, naked rocks and mountain pillars often impend almost, or quite perpendicularly over the principal streams. It is a wide wild land of wind and sunshine. To the casual traveler, toiling along the water courses, or stemming their impetuous currents, the entire basin seems but a succession of breaks and bluffs. But once out upon the undulating plateaus, its true character begins to appear. It was once a comparatively level floor, but has since been channeled to its present salience.

Like an irregular island, almost in the center of the basin, rise the bold slopes and steep points of the Blue Mountains, forming in their coloring a strong and very pleasing contrast to the dun or purple of the rolling plains; being of an intense blue, derived from the evergreen forests that clothe them on the upper reaches. Eastward still in Idaho, and across the depression of the Snake River, the surface is elevated again into the pinnacles of the Seven Devils,

and of the Salmon River Mountains; and the basin ends at length upon the east at the first swell of the Rocky Mountain chain. From these farther slopes a silver thread of snow water is drawn, and following this to its spring one may look to the sunrise down the central ridge of the continent, and see where the waters of the Columbia part from those of the Mississippi Basin.

Thus, in this passing view of the geography of the country, three great superficial divisions are seen—the coast, the system of western valleys, and the interior basin—the latter being so much greater in extent, however, as to make the others seem but as a borderland. These three divisions have been so profoundly stamped by nature that all geographical unity in the whole of the country called "Oregon," and no doubt all historical unity, would have been lost but for one feature, even more profound and constraining than unbroken mountain chains. This unifying element has been the chasm of the Columbia River, extended eastward by the Snake River to the Rocky Mountains. This chasm has offered for all time a passageway of the waters, and for man, and has made Oregon one. Great as was the task of making of the most intractible of mountain lands a consistent and organic whole, the task has been accomplished by the Columbia.

There a grim mountain uprising,
From a storm of uplifted brands,
Stands like a chieftain advising
With his fierce and untamable bands.*

* Sam L. Simpson.

The diversity and ferocity of untamable mountains, and all the opposing and conflicting elements stamped by them upon the face of the country, or that have been or will be stamped by them upon the inhabitants, have been obliged to yield to the greater forces of unity and central purpose compelled by the majestic flow of the Columbia. The name first given to this river has by a most natural and just course of thought been transferred to the whole vast basin of which it has made a geographical unit.

The history of Oregon is the story of the settlement and development of this great region. It is a story that has been full of surprises. It will show how the shores that once seemed so inhospitable and warned the mariners off to sea, and not to leave their own element, have become inviting to thousands of ships that seek them each year. It will show how the rivers that to the first explorers seemed to run "like mad," have since willingly borne the boats of home-seekers and merchants, and have at their most formidable water-breaks disclosed a power that still remains to be placed to human uses. The mountains do not look so high or forbidding; the forests are no more impenetrable. The area of tillable land, that once was thought to be confined to the river bottoms, or the comparatively small prairies of the Willamette Valley, has been extended year after year, each new experiment showing productiveness where the eye inexperienced in Oregon soils, and accustomed to judge by other standards, saw only barren-

ness. Where miners looked for iron they have found gold, and iron where they looked for stones. Where the older generation of scientists declared there could be no coal, because the volcanic action must have burned it out, the coal in great abundance has been found. The population of the States carved out of old Oregon is still of almost insignificant proportions to the magnitude of the natural bounties here treasured, and the story is only begun of the uses that this abundance will yet serve.

The history will also show to what people, already established as an organized body on the earth, this large region was to belong, and what form of government it should strengthen. That it should have become American seems now so natural that how it became so, or why it was reserved as the final pillar of the great Republic, hardly seems to need attention. It was so destined; but history is the story of destiny, and shows why destiny is rational and right. The history will show that the possession of Oregon by Americans, and the selection of a government of freemen, was the action of a long succession of men's choices, and was the result of rejection and indifference and incapacity, as well as of wisdom and energy. The opportunity was given to every nation of the civilized world to own this immense shore, but like Esau's birthright it was traded away; or, their ownership scornfully refused by the land itself—until a free people appeared. Mind by mind, thought by thought, and act by act, the hundred-handed

Americans found acceptance where the monarch found only failure. It will be seen that our Columbia was too wild and free ever to bow to a king; that our mountains were too lofty and pure to accept despotism; and that there was no welcome here except to those who had learned how to combine liberty with the security of organized society. Oregon was a land that preferred even the savage liberty of the wild animals, or almost equally wild Indians, to the service of those who came only to establish inequality, and hence lingered two hundred years behind the other parts of America for her allegiance to grow, until the flag of America began to float upon the Pacific. That this is not simply a fantastic idea, but that it is a shadow of the greater destiny, or Providence, that has guided a people striving to join a greater individual opportunity than kings have been able to grant, with the strength afforded by organized government, will become apparent as the story is traced.

It will also be seen that possession of Oregon carried with it a national pre-eminence to the country desiring and attaining such possession far beyond what even its ample and wonderfully enriched area could confer. It was the effort of America, hardly yet freed herself, to secure the way to Oregon, that made it logical and right to accept from European monarchy the Mississippi Valley and the control of the Gulf; it was possession of Oregon, by dint of pure merit and individual effort of the Oregon pio-

neers, that made possession of California desirable and possible; it was occupation and use of the Pacific Coast from the Straits of Fuca to San Diego that made possession and occupation of Alaska easy and desirable, and without violating any principle of national growth. For the very same reason the occupation and possession of Hawaii, whose autonomy was respected and guaranteed just as long as it could stand, or was wished by her people, could be effected without resort to violence. The further occupation of the Pacific will proceed, so far as it is permanent, upon the same principle. So far as Americans can justify their sovereignty as was done in Oregon, by actual use and occupation, and extension of a greater opportunity to man than can be afforded by kings or emperors, its flag will float higher than any other. The Pacific Ocean, with its numberless archipelagos and islands, is even now practically American, and is held rather by the sense of freedom and benefits, and the stronger nerve of liberty, than by the arms upon which emperors must rely.

While this may seem as anticipation rather than history, it is made so apparent by the history that we may well pause and consider what dignity and importance is thus added to the story of the occupation of Oregon; since the influence of America over the Pacific, and even upon the Orient, must still pass through the gates of the Columbia, the Straits of Fuca, and San Francisco Bay.

It is not easy to forego looking much farther back than the point where history begins, and trace the threads of destiny—which is destiny only as it is reasonable and right, and reveals the controlling Will—as shown in the formation of the land; how it grew slowly in geological times from an archipelago, washed by a sea that extended over the then submerged continent as far east as Nebraska, and when the elevated portions of America were on the Atlantic side—long "before the Flood," and long before the ages of ice, and, indeed, far back toward the Archæan times. How it grew and rose, forming mountain chains between which extended gulfs from the sea, or inland seas; and the Willamette Valley was but the bed of a sound, whose waters surrounded the hills that now are seen to rise like islands from the plain; and when the entire basin of the Columbia was an inland sea, with the Blue Mountains as an island overlooking the expanse which has now been raised to a continental plateau. And how at length, by the elevation of the entire basin, and the outpouring of molten rocks, and building of volcanoes, Oregan passed from the physical condition resembling that of the Antilles or Central America, to which Spaniards might sail any month in the year, to a stern northern land, separated from the rest of the world by mountains so high and bare as to overawe the minds as well as to wear out the limbs of any feeble explorer, and was shut from the sea by somber shores that warned off all but the expert seamen who had

been nursed in the snows of New England. Oregon, as thus viewed, seems to have had a leading share in her own destiny, and the choice seems to have been hers quite as much as that of the liberty-loving Americans, and so we are led to consider the thought of Providence and Divine purpose, which is higher than what is usually meant in the term destiny, and makes of it not the excuse of tyrants or commercial buccaneers, but the development of national righteousness, and the extension of good will among the nations of the earth.

But we must content ourselves with beginning at a historical point, and leave to specialists both the discussion of the growth of the land of Oregon before man's appearance on the earth, and the final bearing of its possession by America upon ideas of government. We must confine ourselves to the limits of the story of Oregon as related to its discovery and occupation, and its place in the national development.

CHAPTER II

First Inhabitants

WHEN first visited by the white men the Oregon country was found to be sparsely populated with various tribes of the copper-brown race denominated, from the misconception of Columbus, the Indians. They belonged to the hunting tribes of North America, and seem to have very small resemblance to the more highly civilized races found in Mexico or Central America. They were indiscriminately called savages, from which they derived the word that in their jargon signifies their own race—Siwash.

However little consideration may have been given them in popular judgment, history must award to them a very large place in the development of our State; and this place is very honorable. Although a gloomy and taciturn people, and not showing the suavity of the southern tribes, they were in their first reception of whites almost invariably friendly, and extended hospitality according to their customs and ability. As the story proceeds it will be shown that out of a century of intercourse between the two races, in which the white man by the very necessity of the case stood in the light of an intruder, or became the aggressor, there still have been but very short periods of Indian war. So far from despising, or not appreciating, the white men's superior inventions, the Indians were eager from the first to learn and acquire them, and understood at once the benefits to be derived from trade and commerce and education, and

even from the white man's religion. The most astute and powerful tribes were the fast friends of the whites from the first, and never engaged in hostilities. During the comparatively long period of British occupation, and during the earlier days of American settlement marriage between the daughters of the chiefs and white men was practiced, and a considerable infusion of Indian blood into the white race was thus brought about. Some of the most intelligent and most effective men in building up the American commonwealths of this coast have been of mixed blood.

When first seen by the white men the Indians were frequently the objects of a no very intelligent curiosity, and their contrasts, or defects, from the white man's standards, were most noticed. Some of their very virtues, in their own estimation, were easily degraded into vices by the whites. No greater merit was known among the Indian men than generosity, a chief giving all that he had in presents to his friends, and in consequence expecting some return, or borrowing when he needed. This practice was easily degraded, upon intercourse with the whites, into spendthrift habits and the request to borrow was regarded as mere begging. Among the women, as among Asiatics, virtue was esteemed as rightfully at the disposal of the father or husband, and their degradation became easy. But no women were more scrupulously faithful to the will of a husband. There are few more faithful mothers.



INDIAN VILLAGE AT THE ENTRANCE OF BUTE'S CANAL

After a print in "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver." Published in London in 1798.

Many misconceptions, or misunderstandings, of the Indians were made by the first white men; cannibalism being reported as one of their customs by an eminent traveler, though by no other has it ever been seen. On the contrary, instances are on record where entirely wild Indians refused meat until assured that it was not human flesh, and many of their folk stories inculcate abhorrence of cannibalism. Nearly all the early travelers speak of the Indians as a decaying race, mentioning their "deserted villages," the numerous graves, or coffins, and the marks of the smallpox scourge, or physical deformities, as indications. But the most of these were misconceptions. The "deserted villages" were merely the large houses that were not used in spring and summer, and were only temporarily abandoned to the birds and weeds, while the tribe took their small houses with them and lived in the woods or mountains. The manner of Indian burial, placing the bodies in trees or upon rocks, made the scene of death very conspicuous and grewsome; but the multitude of such places and signs of bones and burial might only signify the great faithfulness of a tribe to the funeral rites. Smallpox and other epidemic diseases had no doubt begun, as early as the time of the discovery of the Columbia River, to work great ravages. In their first contact with the vices and diseases of civilization, the Indians suffered very greatly, and to a degree lost their moral tone. But according to a certain code of their own they observed very strict customs, which at least se-

cured in many of them robust health and an extreme longevity.

There were perhaps a dozen very distinct tribes among the Oregon Indians. The names given to them are in many cases not their own, but bestowed by whites, or from other tribes. Many errors and misconceptions in regard to their connections have been published and have gone into general ethnography. The first family to come into contact with white men was that of the Nootkans, who occupied the southern portion of Vancouver Island, and also on both sides of the Straits of Fuca. The Makah tribe is a branch of this family. They were first seen at Nootka Sound, and were for many years keen traders with the white men. On a supposed affinity of their language with Chinook they have by some eminent ethnologists been classed with the latter tribe, but according to Gibbs, they are an entirely different people.

One of the largest and most influential of the families is the Chinook, whose principal home was on the north side of the Columbia, at its mouth, but the same type and language had a wide dispersion. The Clatsops, on the south side, and the Kathlamets, the Wahkiahkums, and the tribes up the Columbia as far as the Cascades, and eastward, and even including the Wascos, were of the Chinook stock. The Chehalis, Cowlitz, and Nisquallies, tribes of Western Washington, and around the head of the Sound, are in language and general manner quite different from

the Chinook, but in common with them have been included under the name of Selish, or Salishan Indians. The Tillamooks, and several coast tribes to the south have also been considered as connected with this family.

The Snoquallamies, of the lower sound, have been regarded as an altogether distinct people, and connected rather with an upper Columbia family. The Multnomahs, of the lower Willamette, the Clackamas, of the region near the Willamette Falls, and the Calapooiahs of the upper Willamette, form still another division, and the tribes of Southern Oregon are even more diverse. A somewhat remarkable exception to the Indians of the Willamette Valley are the Molallas, who speak the language of the old Cayuse, and are regarded, both in origin and character, as a part of that dominant people. The Snoquallamies are said also to be Cayuses.

The great family of the upper Columbia Basin has been called the Sahaptin. This includes the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Nez Perces, and Flatheads. These are among the brightest and most powerful of the native people, and have taken the most active part in the history of Oregon. They have been much connected by blood and marriage, yet it is apparent that the Nez Perces are a very different people from the Cayuses. The Spokanes, the Yakimas, and the Klikitats, were powerful tribes of eastern or northern Washington, but had no such close relations with the whites. In southern and southeastern Oregon, and

in Idaho, were many tribes of great interest to the ethnologist, but of little connection with the history. One of the most interesting of these is the Klamath, which has been regarded as a very old and practically distinct people.

The tribes most intimate with the whites have been the Nootkans, Chinooks, and Clatsops; the Calapooiahs, and the Nez Perces. These have been fast friends, and upon more than one occasion have rendered great services.

The coast tribes were the most advanced industrially of all the Oregon Indians, and of these perhaps the Chinooks were in the lead. So far from being a lazy or torpid people they were constantly busy, and that usually at work rather than war. Their livelihood depended chiefly upon fishing, and this was an employment belonging to men. Their arts in boat-building, house-building, making fish nets, and in taking salmon, were worthy of almost any people.

As to boats, or canoes, the Chinooks made three kinds—the large, high-bowed canoe, for the use of chiefs, and capable of holding twenty or more persons, called *esquaiah;* then the big tub canoe, which was low and flat, and called *skamoolsk;* and the small one-man, or duck, canoe, called *kahsetich.* The Chinook, or Clatsop, model, was used, it has been said, in drawing the lines of the first American clipper ships, and the model of these fast sailers has become essentially that of the modern "ocean greyhounds." All the Indian canoes were made from a single tree,

the log being preferably of spruce or cedar. This was hollowed out, and the shavings as cut were raked to the middle and burned, thus also assisting much in the labor of excavation, as the fire also consumed the log. Water in a basket was at hand to use for keeping the fire in proper bounds. After the tree had been properly hollowed out it was partly filled with water into which hot stones were thrown, and the hulk was steamed, skins or mats being thrown over the top. While thus flexible the sides were strained to the proper shape, and fixed by thwarts.

As to houses, some of these were of large dimensions, a single dwelling being sometimes as much as sixty feet long. Such were constructed of very large cedar planks, thirty to sixty feet in length, and four or five inches thick, and several feet broad, laid lengthwise, one above another, up to the eaves. The floor of the house was sunken several feet in the ground, and the eaves were not high. The roof was of poles and bark, laid in shingle fashion, secured by poles laid lengthwise of the ridge. A smaller house, especially on Puget Sound, was very much in use, which was made of small split boards, or "shakes." The boards for the roof were especially prepared so as not to leak, every knot hole or imperfection being carefully gone around with a groove, so as to turn water from the opening. Such boards were carried around from place to place. Houses of this temporary character were common in the Willamette Valley also; but at the mouth of the river the houses

were more of the large permanent style. In the center of the large houses was the place for fire, the larger houses having several fires. An opening was sometimes left in the roof for the escape of smoke, but quite frequently only cracks in the roofs were seen, the idea being that the latter made a more uniform draught. Around the sides of the room and extending under the eaves was a raised platform, serving as place for beds, which were made of mats, and for general storage purposes. One large house made room for many occupants.

The salmon nets of the Clatsops and Chinooks were made of twine, woven from the wild flax that grew in the upper country, and was an extensive article of commerce. This was retted and treated much as flax in use at present, and made a strong fiber. Fibers of roots, such as of the spruce and hemlock trees, were also used, or had been at least before the commerce with the up-river Indians began. The nets made of the fibers were of the gill-net type, and no doubt the modern gill-net in use on the Columbia and over the entire coast, was taken from the Indian model. The Indians' nets were several fathoms in length, and were supported by floats that stood upright when drawn, and were held perpendicular in the water by stone sinkers. The nets were then drifted in the water and the salmon taken. At the falls of the rivers, as Oregon City, the Cascades and Dalles, the salmon were speared. The patience and skill of the Indian in spearing fish has often been noticed by travelers.

The tools used by the Indians, before iron was brought by the whites, were formed of bone or flint, joined with wooden handles, by the sinews of deer or elk. The horns of deer or elk and the teeth of fish were also used to some extent. The flints were obtained in an ingenious manner. A flint stone was wrapped in wet moss, and then covered in a heap of hot stones covered with earth. By the heat and steam the stone would be rent into fragments, from which cutting edges of all sizes and shapes could be taken, whether for knives, spear-heads, arrow-heads, or axes or adzes. With the implements made of these the Indians were able to fell the largest trees, and to rive the largest planks. In riving timber they used also gluts made of the hard spruce knots. They also used mallets, or mauls, the axe being held against the tree, and driven by a blow of the maul. The adz was made of a sharp stone, or later a piece of iron, set between two forks of a stick, being somewhat diagonally placed; and with this a knife stroke could be obtained, and very fine cutting, or shaving, be performed.

As for household utensils these were made chiefly of baskets, so woven as to be water tight, the material being spruce, cedar, or hemlock root fibers. The baskets for cooking were made somewhat jug-shaped, with a cover to place over the top. The articles to be cooked were first placed in the basket or pot, and covered partly with water. Hot stones were prepared, and after first being dipped in hot

water, to remove any ashes, were dropped into the pot. The cover was then shut down, and after a time the food was cooked thoroughly. Many kinds of food were in use, salmon and other fish being most abundant anywhere along the coast or course of the Columbia. Many of the myths of the Indians relate to articles of food, reptiles of all kinds being regarded as loathsome, and human flesh discarded by all the heroes. Cannibalism seems never to have been practiced by the Oregon Indians. Elk and deer were captured by the Clatsops in pits, dug in the earth, and covered with brush and sods; by the Puget Sound Indians a method of driving the deer to a point of an island, or into a corral made of brush and sea weed, is mentioned. The Willamette Valley Indians stalked deer under the cover of a buck's head and skin thrown over the shoulder, shooting with arrows when the game came within range. Roots or tubers used by the Indians were *camas*, a bulb the size of a small onion, growing in marshy or flat prairie lands, with a blue flower; *wapato*, a bulb growing in lakes, or along the lowlands of the Columbia in great quantity; *che-up*, or tuber of the fox tail; thistle root, or *shanatawhee*, very much relished by the Clatsops; blue lupine root, or *culwheyma*, which when roasted was of the taste of a sweet potato; wild tulip, or brown lily, *eckultlapatli*, tiger lily, and the root of a sand-growing plant, often called seashore *verbena*. The seed of the tar weed, *sahwahl*, was much used by the Indians of the Willamette Valley; the prairie being burned over

in order to ripen and partially cook this seed. Articles of food were also commodities of exchange, *camas* especially being sought by the coast tribes, in whose country it did not grow. Gathering of roots, nuts, and berries was particularly the work of the women. Hazel nuts, pine nuts, and in southern Oregon chincapins, and acorns in many localities were very abundant. Wild fruits included strawberries, salmon berries (a species of rubrus), raspberries, blackberries, currants, gooseberries, huckleberries of three or four species, sallal berries, a relative of wintergreen, and enormously productive; buffalo berries and cranberries. Service berries, haws, choke cherries, and bear berries were also used. These articles of food were very abundant, but labor was required in properly preparing and curing them. The Indian method of cooking roots was chiefly by banking over hot stones, and covering with grass or sea weeds. Steam was the principal agent. Fish and meat were sometimes roasted over the coals—salmon being held on a stick before the fire, and the fat gathered in clam shells set underneath.

The Indians dressed in fibers made from the roots or bark of trees, one of the most common articles for women being a sort of kirtle, made of fibers, which hung from the waist to the knee. They also wove cloth from root fibers and dogs' hair, and used skins of animals cured with the fur; and dressed deerskins. The deerskins were prepared, after removing the hair, by rubbing with the brains of the deer

until soft, and then smoking over the fire. This made a very fine soft article. Leggins and moccasins were made of deerskins. Hats woven to a peak were made of straw, and afforded good protection from rain.

The laziness of the Indian is often spoken of by writers, but probably not by those who saw him in his normal condition. In their primitive life both men and women had their regular employment. The men were not trained to long and sustained exertion, but were capable of very great activity. The coast tribes were more accustomed to work than those of the interior. All the tribes practiced polygamy and held slaves. Intermarriages among tribes were common, especially among chiefs' sons and daughters. The chief who could afford the most wives was esteemed for his wealth. Slaves were obtained by purchase or capture, and stealing slaves was a constant source of irritation among the tribes.

Probably the largest and most powerful constituency of tribes was that of the Chinooks, being allied with the Clatsops, the Wahkiahkums, Kathlamets, and even having a connection with the Wascos at the Dalles. (The Wascos form a portion of the upper Chinook Indians of the Columbia.—Gatschet.) They were connected by frequent intermarriages with the Tillamooks on the south, and the Chehalis on the north, though their language is much diverse. They are spoken of as the Salish tribes. A very powerful tribe at one time were the Cayuses, though small in numbers; being connected with the Walla Wallas



A CHINOOK LODGE

After a print in "A Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the years 1838-1842, by Captain Charles Wilkes, U. S. N." Published in Philadelphia in 1849.

and Umatillas, and occupying the foothills of the Blue Mountains on the western sides. Their old language, now discarded, shows a connection with the Molallas, who lived at the west of Mount Hood. They are also said to be connected with the Snoqualamichs, whose home was to the west of Mount Ranier. The Cayuses impress one at once as a very different type from the coast Indians. They are models of bodily symmetry.

The various languages spoken by the tribes, or families, were very distinct, and until the Chinook jargon was invented, members of the different nations could not converse except in signs or by pictures. It is stated by Horatio Hale, who visited Oregon as an attaché of the Wilkes Expedition in 1841, that he discovered as many as twelve entirely distinct languages among the natives within the limits of Oregon. There were undoubtedly more than this, and including those of Alaska and British Columbia the number would be multiplied. Tribes closely adjoining, and having, on the whole, friendly relations, often used languages entirely separate, as the Chehalis and Chinooks, the former occupying the country of Gray's Harbor. One of the widest dispersed languages was the Old Chinook, which was spoken as far up the Columbia as the Dalles, and among the Clatsops, and in modified form by the Tillamooks. It is stated by Hale that many of the wars and troubles among the different nations arose from the differences in languages; members of different

sections meeting casually and not understanding one another often fancied by resemblances in sounds that some slight or insult was intended where no offense was meant. It is significant of the character of the two leading tribes—Chinook and Cayuse—that the name of the former, in the Chinook jargon, has been extended over the entire coast as the term for a language, while the Cayuse were everywhere known from their horses.

It should not be thought that the native Indian languages were barren or poor in terms. On the contrary, they are very copious and highly expressive. A dictionary of the Nez Perce, or Nimipu, contains over nine thousand different words, and the compiler thinks there are several thousand more. A Chehalis Indian has said to the writer that in his language every part of an object had a name; so that by one word each portion could be told, as of a tree from roots to branch. Hale also states that the impression that Indians talked mostly by signs and gestures and intonations was entirely erroneous when they were speaking in their original tongue; then they used no signs or gestures, and very few inflections of the voice. This would show that they could express every idea exactly by distinct words. Such languages would show a long period of development on the part of separate tribes, and a high power of observation and capacity for close definition. The disposition to preserve each tribe for itself its own hereditary language and develop no common tongue

would also show the intense spirit of independence, and even distrust of all others, that is indicated in many other ways. Indeed, it is said by Gatschet, who has made a minute study of the language and customs of the Klamaths, that the different tribes each regarded itself as much more closely related to the animals than to one another. They commonly applied terms to others that indicated contempt or derision, as dog by the Nez Perces to the Pintes; and skunk by the Klamaths to a northern tribe.

The language now universally spoken by the Indians is the Chinook jargon. This, as stated by Hale and Gibbs, is composed of the Nootkan, the Chinook, and some words of French and English. A very few words by direct imitation of sounds, as poo, or poon, for gun, have been added. By far the greater number are Chinook, and this fact indicates a greater adaptability of thought on the part of that tribe than probably belonged to any other. The vocabulary is very meager, but since 1841, when Hale first observed it, has grown from about 250 to 500 words. It is believed by Hale that this has been a great civilizer of the Indians, and by giving them a common tongue for communication has taught them respect for one another. It probably also enabled the ambitious chiefs, such as Kamiakin, to form those remarkable confederacies of tribes that for a time threatened the order of the territory. While the Indian languages are still remembered by the older people, many have been discarded, the Cayuses no longer using their na-

tive tongue, but adopting the Nez Perce. This language, also called the Nimipu, has been extended by Nez Perce preachers and teachers over the entire Rocky Mountain country, and will probably long survive as a spoken and written language.

The origin of the Indians is still shrouded in mystery. From their old and strongly diverse languages, and their very marked mental traits and physical mould, one might think that they came from different parts of the world. But there are indications that they have a common origin, though having long dwelt apart. A comparison of the numerals, for instance, shows, that tribes so far separated as the Chinooks and Spokanes, or the Nez Perces and Klamaths, counted by the same words. A comparison of their myths also shows that many of the most popular were extended as far as from the Chehalis to the Klamaths, the Chinooks to the Spokanes, and even from the Klamaths and the Nez Perces to the Omahas, of Nebraska. All the languages, also, seem to show certain common mental and moral characteristics, and about an equal stage of development in the scale of ethnology.

It is not inappropriate to notice that although we use the common expression of nearly all writers in alluding to the Indians as savages and inferior to the Mound Builders or the Aztecs in the understanding of the arts; or that they were not civilized, or but very little, we do not at all accept these terms as implying personal inferiority on the part of the red

race. The Indians of North America have played a vitally important part in the making of our nation, and shaping its institutions. Nowhere has this been more noticeable than in Oregon. The very fact that they were not a civilized race—using the term strictly as meaning a race accustomed to city life and its arts—made of them a people much more useful in assisting the settlement and in influencing the mind of the present American people. They are in many respects comparable with the barbarians of Europe, who at last overran Italy, and who gave to that remnant of the Roman Empire the Italian Republics; or, to the Scythians, whose descendants have made of Russia a modern power. Indeed, a noted French writer, in describing the spirit of the European barbarians as constitutionally for liberty, remarks that he finds no modern parallel of this spirit, except in that of the American Indians.

While practically certain that the Indians of Oregon, and perhaps all the hunting tribes, came originally from some part of Asia, we shall look in vain for any definite trace of such a migration in the traditions or stories of the Indians themselves. In a succeeding chapter we shall give some specimens of these traditions, as showing the ideas of the Indian and his ways of reasoning and thinking, and we shall then see why we cannot look for history there.

Nevertheless there are some indications, which no people can entirely avoid leaving, albeit that people is one so crafty and secretive as the Indian; they

still leave their trail. Their silent footsteps will in due time be traced from the very starting point, and the history of discoveries across the Pacific will at some time be as fully known as those, at least, of the Norsemen in America, and the Indian race will stand with its native dignity before the mind of the world. But at present we have been left almost entirely to conjecture. Some of the vague traditions of the tribes of their western origin have been thought worthy of credit. In his excellent monogram on the language of the Klamaths and Modocs, Gatschet says:

"The track of migrations was from North to South, parallel to the Pacific Coast."

The prevailing and common opinion, based almost entirely upon scientific conjecture, is that our Indians are a branch of the Turanians, or Tartars, of northern Asia, and in their early migrations continued moving eastward along the Pacific Coast of that continent, and still migrating until their progress was arrested at Bering's Straits. But finally acquiring sufficient skill and daring to cross this narrow water, they at length landed upon American soil, and being led southward by the same migratory instinct, coasted down the Alaskan region, occupying island and shore as the generations continued, and as skill increased in use of water craft. At last the forces from behind, and the attractions of an ever warmer sun, led them on as far south as the mouth of the Columbia River. But here the center of at-

traction varied, and pointed east, and no longer southward; the Columbia being an immense river of fresh water, swarming at different seasons with fish sufficient to feed an immense primitive population. Moreover, its broad reaches offered the advantage of waterway connection to a great and sunny interior, attractive as an elysian to the coast tribes, who although perfectly hardy, love of all things best the warm sunshine. The ocean, moreover, to the south of the Columbia offered no sheltered waterways, such as are found along the Alaskan shore, and even down to the Straits of Fuca, but from thence onward there was only the wide open sea, often swept with storms. From the mouth of the river, then, as a new starting point, the successive immigrations from the north turned eastward, every new or ambitious chief, or any defeated and worsted party, easily striking tent, or taking canoe toward the lands of the sunrise.

This is the common and popular impression, and is found in almost every treatise or school book on the subject of the Indian's origin and dispersion over North America. So high an authority as G. F. Wright, of Oberlin, O., who made a survey of the terminal moraine of the great North American glaciers, considers this the probable track of the first immigrants from Asia. It has also been suggested that the first migrations—as there may have been many in the course of time—were made at so early a date that North America was still joined by land with Asia, the straits now separating the two continents having

been formed by a subsidence of the land after this historical event. Without at all disturbing this popular—or even scientific—belief, there are still indications that there were other routes of ingress to America from the west.

The assumption upon which the entire hypothesis is based may not prove correct: That is, that the migrations into America should have followed a land route. This we may take as rather a presumption of a continental people, such as the Americans have become; or perhaps an idea that the Indians belonged to a race incapable of sea-going; or perhaps the still further presumption that the ancestors of the Indians were a very primitive and incapable people, and lacked both the skill and courage to go out of sight of land. All these presumptions are gratuitous, and fail of justice to the courage and ability of the Indian as we know him, and very likely to his ancestors. If left to supposition based upon the present character and capacities of the Indians one would rather imagine that they sprung from a sea-going people, and that the track of their migrations was along the shores and islands of Asia, especially of Japan and the Kurile group, and to the point of Kamtchatka, and thence by the Komandorski Islands and the Aleutian Archipelago, to the mainland of America. The northern Indians, and indeed all the coast tribes, navigate the main ocean without fear, and in perfect security. A party of the Clatsop, or Tillamook Indians, have within a few years been seen to launch

a canoe from the ocean beach, paddle to Tillamook Rock and spear seals, and return with perfect success, affording—as a white man who saw the feat said of it—" the prettiest sight he ever saw." The Indians of the northern coast were adepts at chasing and spearing the whale in the open sea, using common bone, or flint-tipped spears before iron was to be had, and connecting the spear by a line with a sealskin pad, like a huge bladder, so that as spear after spear was lodged in the monster it became unable to dive, or sound, and was finally exhausted and easily killed. The Indians of the Columbia made it a regular practice to pass in single canoes, mere shells paddled by one man, from the Columbia on the open sea to Shoal Water Bay or Gray's Harbor; and in the larger canoes voyages from the Columbia were made as far south as Yaquina Bay. If then the ancestors of these Indians had the skill of the present race—and there is no particular reason to think otherwise—they might have crossed by way of the chains of islands in latitude 50°, or 55°.

No mention need be made, perhaps, of a fortuitous passage across the Pacific to America. This has been a favorite supposition with some, and one of Oregon's authors, Samuel A. Clarke, has written a poem, entitled Champoeg, tracing out in a somewhat humorous vein, the adventures of a Chinese Mandarin across the Pacific. This is based to some extent upon accounts of Tillamook Indians as related to a friend of Mr. Clarke's. Within historical times it is stated

that a Japanese junk, still containing three survivors of the unintentional voyage, reached the shores of California. The three were a man, a woman, and a Buddhist priest. An ingenious writer made a computation of the time required in all probability to people North America from chance voyagers as the above.

A trace of the earliest immigrations, however, seems as possible, if not probable at a line of passage much to the south of any of the above—either that at Bering's Straits, or across by the chain of Kurile and Aleutian Islands, or by a chance passage from Japan. This is merely suggested here, as the results of still incomplete investigations, by the writer, and is rather a contribution to conjecture in a field still open. Nevertheless the suggestion is not based upon conjecture, but upon certain peculiarities of the Indian language, especially of the numerals, which might lead in competent hands to a considerable understanding of the origin of our Indians.

It may be noticed first that the position of the Hawaiian Islands is nearer to North America than to the continent of Asia by about two thousand miles, and nearer than to Japan by twelve hundred miles. The Hawaiian group is also nearly two thousand miles from the nearest of the Polynesian Islands, and nearly three thousand from the Carolines and the Ladrones. Yet the Hawaiian group was populated by a very enterprising and vigorous race, before historic times, and undoubtedly by no means of com-



CHESLAKE'S VILLAGE IN JOHNSTONE'S STRAITS

From a print in "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver." Published in London in 1798.

munication except by water. It would seem most probable that the first immigrants to Hawaii were from the southwest. It is stated by Titus Munson Coan, M.D., of Honolulu, on the authority of Keane, that the Hawaiians belong to a race whose habitat is in the southern and eastern Pacific Ocean, occupying Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, the Marquesas, Tuamota, and other groups, including New Zealand, and also the Hawaiian Islands. In all these groups and islands, however, widely separated geographically, we find a people essentially one in blood, usages, traditions, and religion. Keane describes them as one of the finest races of mankind, considering them Caucasians of Indo-China — according to the older description of the human races. Lord George Campbell, who also saw the natives of Polynesia in their original state, describes them as giving one the impression of a race naturally superior to our own. He mentions their light copper-brown colored skins, such as is characteristic of our Indians, though their hair, unlike the Indians', is wavy or curly, and in some groups is yellow.

The main point to be noticed here, however, is that this race was able to become dispersed over groups of islands as far apart as Hawaii and New Zealand— a distance of some five or six thousand miles. This was over the surface of the Pacific Ocean, in native-made canoes. Some two thousand miles of the distance traversed by the immigrants to the Hawaiian group was over a sea unbroken by islands that reaches

from the Marquesas. The question then naturally arises, why, if the race to which the Hawaiians belonged was able to traverse the main Pacific, and reach a group of islands two thousand miles from any others, the same race might not continue sailing, and by dint of the same skill traverse also the two thousand miles to the coast of California? More likely, however, the prevailing southerly winds of the season when the islanders' canoes could make head at all, would drive them northerly, landing them on the coast of Oregon or Washington, or still higher. Indeed, simply calculating the chances it is easily seen that canoes from the Hawaiian Islands, which are in the direct track of the southwest winds of winter, which blow thence with increasing violence for half the year across the northern Pacific to Oregon and Alaska, would be much more likely to make chance passages across the two or three thousand miles of water thence, than would chance junks from Japan across the five thousand miles of breadth of the North Pacific.

A possible immigration into America from Polynesia and Hawaii, of the race occupying the Pacific islands is hinted at also in some of the peculiarities of the languages. The Indian numerals show some singular coincidences with those of the island peoples. There are resemblances also in some of the most general of the Indian myths. This line of inquiry, however, does not seem to have been thoroughly investigated, and no conclusions should yet

be drawn. It seems, however, to be generally agreed that our hunting tribes were of Asiatic origin, from the central home of the human race, and were not developed from any order of anthropoids of America. Whether of Tartar origin, or of the race that occupied the Pacific islands, their ancestry is of the same sources as that of all other of the human tribes, and the old saying, that God hath made of one blood all the races of men that dwell upon all the face of the earth, seems to have justification among the natives of North America as well as elsewhere. Their well-developed languages, their numerous arts, their strict sense of justice, their intense religious convictions, their extensive legendary lore, and their love of liberty, show them also to be of the same mental and moral faculty as the rest of mankind.

CHAPTER III

Indian Ideas As Illustrated in Their Myths

IN succeeding pages the various Indian characters that played their part upon the historic scene will be introduced as the history develops, but as we wish not simply to see them in their curious forms, or in either their good or bad actions, but desire also to understand why they acted as they did, we shall be well rewarded to stop and glance at their ideas and manner of thinking. As the man thinks, so is he, is an old saying, and it has been well remarked by Gatschet that to learn and know what the Indians thought was more important than to know what they did.

We shall find the Indian's ideas and principles and his own character completely set forth in his myths and traditions. They show also very exactly his degree of development in the social scale. They are of value also to any who desire to understand the manner of thinking of a primitive people with the purpose of educating the many primitive peoples still in the world who must share the advantages and perils of the white man's civilization. If a more patient and intelligent study were made by missionaries and teachers of what the savage, or little developed mind, contains, greater success would follow the attempt to impart higher truths. Besides this the Indian legends are not without educational value. They are upon an exact level with the nursery stories in which children still delight, and show a mental frame of about the same stage as that of the early Germanic and Scandinavian tribes, or of the Greeks

before the times of Homer and Æsop. Many of the tales also, told in original Indian, with the picturesqueness of a long developed style, would compare well with the fancies of the Arabian Nights. They show the stage of thought when imagination predominates, reasons are found in resemblances and nature and the world is still plastic to the thought.

We shall look in vain in these stories for history. We find history the last thing that a primitive people thinks of. Not historical events and the plain deeds of men, but fancy and speculation, and the activities of nature occupy their first attention, and we shall realize that history, or the study of human events, is perhaps the very last result in the development of a literature.

It should first be noted that the number and amount of Indian tradition and lore is simply enormous. Indians have stated to the writer that they might talk "all of this day, and all the next day, and all the day after," and yet not tell all; and that the stories never did end, but "every story continued down to this day"—the day on which it was told. And after listening to their tales he was fully convinced that they spoke the truth. Any idea that the mind of the Indian is vacant, or that he thinks of nothing in particular, is wholly mistaken, and due to the fact that few whites have taken the pains to learn what the Indian thinks. While the Indian is an actor, and takes delight in unceasing motion, such as running, riding, rowing and swimming, he is also a

dreamer, and his fondest accomplishment was to relate the tales handed down from his fathers and add such events or observations as brought them to date. Here was the secret of his eloquence. The camp fire and the council hall were ever the center of his interest, and allowed expression to his inmost nature. Here the scenes of the chase and the fight were recounted, or rather re-enacted, the speaker dramatizing and imitating the scenes or characters as he went along, reproducing the cries of animals, and repeating the threats and taunts of the battlefield. Here he was able to impress himself upon the listening tribe, gain the admiration of the young men, and the love of the women. Here he also repeated, night after night, the myths of the tribe, always beginning at the beginning, and showing his shrewdness or wit by making such additions as gained the applause of the listeners. This was the excitement and life of the long evenings in camp, and afforded no small mental culture and entertainment. While crude compared with the imaginative composition of the ancient Greek poets, who traveled from place to place reciting their pieces, or with the bards of the British Islands, or the Minnesingers of medieval Germany, or the scalds of the Norsemen, the stories and recitations of the Indians around their fires were of the same character, and to no small degree treated of the same subjects. As Virgil tells of the poet at the banquet of Æneas and Dido—" He sings the wandering moon, the labors of the sun, and whence the

tribes of men and beasts ''—so the Indian story tellers concerned themselves mostly with nature myths, describing how the various objects in their country reached their present condition from a remote past when the world was full of monsters and giants, and all things, including beasts and birds and fishes, and even such natural objects as rocks and trees and the mountains, and the manifestations of nature such as thunder, were all persons. As we shall see later these myths suffered quite a considerable development, and were verging toward true history.

In this chapter will be given a number of stories illustrating the operation of the Indians' fancy and reasoning faculties, and having the further value of showing incidentally the dispersion of the Indians from one center. They also are undoubtedly of primitive origin, without admixture, and some have been told to the writer from the original sources. While making no claim to extensive investigations in this interesting field, the writer still feels more confidence in the large number of myths collected by others from having heard some of the stories from the Indians themselves, and appreciates much more fully the force of thought and a certain animal attraction or native magnetism, still clinging to the narratives.

The first is a very common account of one of the adventures of the Coyote, or Tallapus, the hero of the Clatsops and Chinooks. It accounts for the names of the birds, and the creation of the snail, and

also inculcates the lesson of kindness to the unfortunate. It was related to the writer by an educated gentleman, Mr. Silas B. Smith, a son of Celiast, and grandson of Kobaiway, the Clatsop chief so favorably mentioned by Lewis and Clark, and of whom we shall hear later. Mr. Smith, whose father came to Oregon with Nathaniel J. Wyeth in 1832, is himself a well educated lawyer, having studied in the office of Senator Blair in New Hampshire; and has in later years taken great interest in the traditions and customs of the Oregon Indians.

The second story, although common in the Clatsop or Chinook lore, was told by a Chehalis Indian, as related by his mother and grandfather. This Indian, known as Sam. Malette, is a resident of South Bend, Washington, and is now a man seventy years old. He is still vigorous, however, and has not a gray hair in his head or in his beard—as he has adopted the white man's custom of cultivating a beard. He is a pure Indian, his father having been a Chinook, and his mother a Chehalis. The story is a Chehalis legend.

The third was related by a Nez Perce, James Grant, of Lapwai, Idaho, and is the most common, perhaps, of the Nez Perce myths. It has particular value as explaining the creation of mankind, and the various tribes, and how they were given their present characteristics. It was also told the writer by Miss Kate C. Macbeth, Presbyterian missionary at Lapwai. James Grant is a robust, portly Indian, of consider-

able education, a property owner, and perhaps fifty or sixty years of age.

As illustrating these three characteristic Indian stories will be told three others: One the Spokane version of the Adventure of Tallapus; the second, a story from the Klamaths; and the third, a Ponca, or Omaha version of the Nez Perce story. The Spokane story was told by Louis Labonte, also on his mother's side a grandson of Chief Kobaiway, and a son of Louis Labonte of the Astor Expedition. The Klamath, or Modoc, story is from the collection of Gatschet; and the Omaha story from a collection published in 1890 by the Smithsonian Institute under the Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountains.

STORY OF TALLAPUS AND THE HOLLOW CEDAR TREE

Once Tallapus was traveling from the country of the Tillamooks, where was his birthplace, to the country of the Clatsops. He was upon his usual mission of observing all the objects of nature, and especially taking notice of men. He was the friend of mankind, and had taught them many useful customs and had given laws to govern their conduct; but very frequently was obliged to punish them for their folly or disobedience. He was also on the watch for any sport or amusement that he might chance upon, for although on the whole a benevolent and serious being, and easily grieved by the vices of men,

he was still merry and full of little tricks and wiles. He had assumed the form of the coyote, as being perhaps the shrewdest and least harmful of animals, and already possessing a language that men seemed to understand.

In this particular journey he was obliged, after passing the mountains and the headlands of the coast, to follow the trail through the deep woods. As he was slowly traveling along, taking notice of all things, his attention was arrested by the sight of an immense cedar tree. The main peculiarity of this tree was that the interior was hollow, as was shown by a rift, or gap, appearing in one of the seams of the immense trunk, and as the tree swayed in the breeze the rift opened, much like a door, showing the cavernous interior. Tallapus was much interested in this curious tree, with the hollow inside, and the opening and closing trunk, and thought to himself that here was a chance for sport. Crying out then " Open cedar tree," and the tree opening, he leaped within, and called again " Shut cedar tree "; and the tree shut. It was indeed very amusing to be shut as if grown there inside the tree, but after enjoying the novelty for a time, he thought he must proceed with his journey, and called upon the tree to open, and it did so. But having gone out, and remembering that this was perhaps his last chance with the queer tree, he again repeated his experiment, and did so again and again. Finally concluding that his journey could not be

longer delayed for sport, he determined to go in but once more, and then resume his journey. He accordingly went in, called upon the tree to shut, which it did; and then to open, which it did not. It was unresponsive, and refused to obey.

Tallapus at first fell into a rage, but as this did no good, and he could not either pound or kick a way out, he at last began to think. He had gotten himself into this predicament by not thinking; he must now think his way out. As the result of his reflections he concluded that he must call upon the birds to come and release him, by pecking holes into the tree. He therefore called from the heart of the tree, and in response there came first the little wren. She was unable, however, to peck into the tree, and only blunted her bill; and Tallapus gave her her name, and then called again. Other birds heard and came in due order, but none was able to release him; and after naming them he sent them away each in its order. Finally the small woodpecker made a small hole through which the unfortunate Tallapus could peer, but by no means pass out. He gave the bird a name, however, and called again. The big woodpecker, or yellow hammer, then came, and pecked a large hole, but still wholly inadequate for the purpose. Tallapus sent the bird away with its name, but saw that there was no further help from the birds. He decided therefore to resort to extreme measures. He would take himself to pieces, and place the parts outside each by itself. He did so, and in short time

was outside, in a various pile of members on the ground. His next labor was to put himself together again in proper order. This he succeeded in doing, except that he found, after all else was in place, that his eyes were lacking. A raven had in fact seen the eyes, and stealing them had flown away. Tallapus was therefore blind.

He felt greatly chagrined, and his first care was to conceal his loss. Guided by the odor he soon was led to a bunch of blooming roses, and picking some of the flowers, placed one in each eye, and proceeded on his way; being obliged, however, to feel along on the ground. He was soon met by a woman, who seeing a blind person began deriding him, and remarking "Oh, ho, you seem to be pretty badly blind!" he replied "Oh, no; I am simply measuring the ground; I can see better than you; I can see the Tomaniwus rays!"

The woman was greatly astonished that he could see the Tomaniwus rays, which only the Tomaniwus men could see; and exclaimed, while he was pretending to see wonderful things at a great distance, "Oh, I wish I could see the Tomaniwus rays."

"Well," said Tallapus quickly, "exchange eyes with me, and you can see them."

She at once did so, giving her eyes, while he gave her the useless roses. He could then see as well as ever, while she could see nothing. Then Tallapus said: "For your folly I will change you into a snail, which must creep and feel its way on the

ground.'' From that time there have been blind snails, feeling their way along the earth.

In the above story one may readily see the many ways in which the fabulist could apply a moral. The folly of Tallapus himself in trusting to an unknown tree, but his cunning in getting out, would suggest a warning against going into tight places without thought, but the necessity of reflection if once entrapped. The names given the birds have something of a scientific basis, the various species being named by Tallapus upon the shape and function of the beak. The women's derision of Tallapus's misfortune, and her punishment, would teach sympathy rather than scorn of the unfortunate. Another Clatsop legend of the Crane, which had been an old woman who was placed away by her children to die, and called for water, and in response to her prayer was changed into the crane, which ever after had all the water it wanted, is also calculated to teach kindness.

THE STORY OF TSMPTSTSMPTS, THE CHEATCO, AND OLD THUNDER

(A Chehalis Legend.)

Tsmptstsmpts was the youngest of five brothers. He was made the drudge of them all, who spent their time in the forest and along the streams, hunting elk

or fishing trout, while he was compelled to work all day, either in the woods, or in the lodge. His work was chiefly digging the roots of young spruce or cedar trees, and shredding these into fibers, out of which he made twines, such as the people used for making nets to catch fish. He also had to take care of the two dogs, and watch them at home.

Although skillful and industrious at home, Tsmptstsmpts was very curious to see and know of the great world without, and felt very lonesome as he worked in the forest while his brothers were gone. He therefore spent much of his time singing or rather crying out, and making a refrain telling how he wished that somebody would come. This song was heard sometimes by his brothers as they returned from the hunt, and he was repeatedly warned that if he continued calling for some one that the Giants would hear, and actually come to the lodge and eat them all. But the boy always denied that he made any such invitations; yet secretly wished that even the giants might come, so that he might see somebody; and all the more loudly called while his brothers were absent.

At length the giant indeed came. He was from the country far to the east and north, across the hills. He was a Cheatco—from the place now called Seatco, which is a softened form of the same word. It was just at dusk that he arrived, and the brothers had but returned from their sport, and Tsmptstsmpts from his work. The giant was a fearful looking creature, being of so large a stature as to make it impossible

for him to enter the house through the ordinary door, or rather manhole that served the purpose of a door in Indians' houses. He was uncouth in his form, and carried a large club, or cane, made of decaying wood (the Clatsops say of dead men's bones). But what made him more fearful was the strands or shreds of human hair that protruded from his mouth, being knotted in his teeth. These were the remnants of former repasts. The Cheatco was evidently a man-eater.

Although much afraid the four brothers of Tsmpts-tsmpts bade the giant enter their house, and took out one of the large planks of the wall to accommodate his huge body. He accepted their hospitality without more ado and immediately began eating all there was in the house. Tsmptstsmpts affected great simplicity, and as if but an unmannerly boy, as his stunted figure indicated, he cried out at intervals to the giant, "Shut your dirty mouth." After finally watching the giant dispose of the last bite of food, he said, "What will you eat next?" "I will eat your blankets," said the giant, referring to the skins of animals upon which they slept. The boy then made his usual saucy retort, or hoot, "Shut your dirty mouth," and busied himself about the house. However, the next day the giant began on the skins, and after devouring a part of them, and being asked again what he would eat next, replied, "I will eat you." The boy made his usual response, but at night when the giant wished one of the brothers to sleep

with him, readily agreed to do so. He told his brothers that when the giant was ready to capture and devour them he would cry out as usual. They must be prepared, and instead of sleeping be on the watch; they must also place sticks of wood in their beds, so as to deceive the Cheatco, and be ready to escape through an opening under the side of the house.

At the time anticipated Tsmptstsmpts saw the giant awake, and he made his usual cry, and the brothers hearing slipped away, escaping in a hole outside and running off; while the rather stupid giant sprang upon and seized the sticks of wood. He was at first disconcerted, and Tsmptstsmpts taking the two dogs, the younger of which was named Elálskit, and the older, Solee, also made his escape —first, however, directing the giant in the opposite direction from that taken by the brothers. In the course of time, however, he found their tracks, and was not long in overtaking Tsmptstsmpts, who started last, and also was obliged to carry the dogs. The lad saw that he must soon be captured unless he contrived some way of hindering the giant, and decided to sacrifice one of the dogs. Throwing down the younger he cried at the same time, " Rise up my earth! " and as the dog was let fall the earth rose, forming a hill, called to this day Elálskit, after the dog. Being met by the rising earth the giant was thrown back and tumbled on the ground and made many ineffectual attempts to pass over, being hurled

back even as the waves are now thrown back and are unable to surmount the cliffs of Elálskit. But in the course of time he gained his point, and at length was near overtaking Tsmptstsmpts once more. The lad saw that he must sacrifice the other dog, and throwing down Solee said, "Rise up my earth!" No sooner had the older dog touched the ground than this rose up forming the Solee hills, to the eastward of the other ridge, and much higher. With this the giant was left to struggle, while Tsmptstsmpts ran on, and following the steps of his brothers came to the end of the land, the long sandy tract that terminates at the channel now forming the entrance to Shoalwater Bay. Here he overtook the four who had preceded him, but were unable to cross the water. The usual means of crossing was by the old ferryman, who lived on the other side, or the north shore. His name was Thunder. His occupation was whale fishing, and at that moment he could be seen at his work, knitting the nets which he used for his traps. He had, however, made no answer to the cries of the four brothers.

Tsmptstsmpts began calling, as the others had done, saying first, "Oh, grandfather, take us over," but getting the gruff answer, "I have no grandsons"; and then, "Oh, uncle, take us over," but getting only the retort, "I have no nephews." But Tsmptstsmpts, who had providently carried on his shoulder the skein of twine that he had been weaving, held it up and said, "I will give you this if you

will take us over." By this Old Thunder was at once moved; he was just out of twine and needed more for his whale trap nets. Coming down to the shore immediately he thrust out his leg, which was his means of crossing people over the strait, and extending it all the way over, allowed the five refugees to skip to the north shore without loss of time. Thunder receiving the skein of twine was now in good humor, and bade them welcome to his house.

They were not too soon, for now the Cheatco, having at length surmounted the upheaval of the earth, which had formed the Solee hills, appeared on the south shore, and called to be set across. Thunder was at first a little dubious about allowing him to come, suspecting that the stick he carried was enchanted or unclean; but warning the giant not to touch his body at length thrust out his leg as before, and upon this the Cheatco began his passage. But well out over the boiling waters, swirling with a strong ebb tide to sea, he felt somewhat unsteady, and forgetting Thunder's warning thrust down his stick; but the moment this touched Thunder's leg the member was withdrawn, and the offending giant was precipitated into the waves. As he was carried out into the breakers Thunder called to him, " Oh, wicked Cheatco, long enough have you been going abroad eating men. You shall do so no more; but must ever live in the sea. When the weather will be stormy you must go far south and roar—roaring for stormy weather; when the weather will be fair

you must go north and roar, roaring for fair weather to let the people know; and when the weather is about to change from stormy to fair, you must come up near and roar, to let the people know that the weather will soon change from stormy to fair."

This has been the case ever since. The giant Cheatco has never since roamed abroad, but roars in the sea, letting the people know how the weather will be. As a matter of fact the Indians follow the indications of the surf, Malette, indeed, telling this story in order to tell how the Indians knew when it was safe to venture out on the ocean. They take the warnings of the surf, either from the south or north.

This is more purely a nature myth than the previous one. It gives a reason for the rocky headland, which is the north spur, or head, of Cape Disappointment, and why it looks like a dog; and also the shape and larger dimensions of the Chinook hills, being formed of the upheavings of the older dog. It accounts for the monstrous size of the primitive beings, the giant being large enough to have the voice of the surf, but still inferior to the thunder, by which he was relegated to the sea, and made subservient to human uses. Still more the small and unpromising lad, Tsmptstsmpts, who, however, had more shrewdness than the others, and outwitted the giant, illustrated the constant theme of the Indian and all other mythologies; that *thought* was more than an equal for mere size and strength. The sort of thought displayed was not of the highest order, but under later

refinements might have developed such a character as Æschylus delineates in "Prometheus Chained."

The above is but the beginning of a long and, on the whole, rather shrewd series of adventures of the five brothers. Tsmptstsmpts, indeed, soon ended his career, in his curiosity falling over the headboard of Old Thunder's bedstead, and descended into the other world—this board being no other than a cliff by the seashore; however, he by no means lost his life, but lives as a god in the region of shades. The other brothers then undertook their travels, being at the house of the crane, the eagle, and the sea otter, when those animals were yet persons and giants; and one after another of them dying from eating forbidden lizards or snakes, which were offered them at the giants' houses; until all had died but the oldest one. He was finally received at the house of another one of the Thunders, and married the daughter; and here a new series of characters and adventures begins; the mother-in-law, the Tideland Snipe, attempting to eat out the heart of the young man with her long nose, or beak, as afterwards made; and even the Thunder attempting to kill him; but the secret plottings of both were frustrated by the young wife, or by the Mink, who proved to be the young man's half-brother, and a very cunning fellow.

It is worthy of note here that the number of brothers, five, is characteristic of all the Indian mythologies—as Gatschet remarks—and indicates the quinary origin of their numerals, five being the sign of

completeness; and that the Thunders are favorite characters in Indian stories even to the Missouri, and probably much farther east. A Ponca story tells of the young chief who roused from his lethargy and traveled until he came to the place where the sky comes down on the earth. He there found one of the Five Thunders, who was white-headed, and succeeded in killing him and taking his scalp, and afterwards of the four others, the hair of one of which was black, another's green, and another's red, and the other's blue.

STORY OF THE COYOTE AND THE MONSTER OF KAMIAH

The following is the story from the Nez Perce, and is quite different from the preceding.

There was originally a great monster that lived in the country of the Kamiah, in central Idaho, the country of the Nez Perces. It had no need of going abroad from place to place to hunt its prey, but only to sit still and draw all that lived into its maw. It had an irresistible breath, and caused the wind to come from the east or north, or west or south, and with it came the various tribes of animals—at that time hardly properly animals, yet not men either. They were like men, however, in being able to talk, and even having the use of fire.

The Coyote, seeing the ravages of the monster, and being grieved for the misery that was brought upon

the races of living things, decided to attempt its destruction. He first went far away to the tops of the Wallowa Mountains to test the strength of his breath. Rising up like the tiniest spear of grass in the distance he blew a shrill challenge to the Kamiah monster; who at first did not see him, but at length with a telescopic sort of vision descried his little figure, and at once began drawing the air inward. But as had never before happened, the Coyote did not come. "Ungh, he is a big medicine," said the monster. The Coyote then went to the top of the Seven Devils, somewhat nearer, and there blew a whistle, and the monster again drew, but this time also failed to bring the audacious Coyote. "He is a very big medicine," he said once more. The Coyote then came much nearer, to the top of the Salmon River Mountains, and again made his challenge. The monster again attempted to draw him, but again failed. "This is a very strong medicine," he repeated once more. The Coyote's "medicine," however, was no more than a coil of grass rope with which he had tied himself to the mountain—illustrating forethought.

Being satisfied now that he had frightened the monster, and that he might dare to descend into his interiors, the Coyote went to his friend Kots-kots, the fox, and asked his advice. The fox furnished him with five knives, and advised that he go and demand entrance into the mouth of the destroyer. This was asked, but refused, as the monster was now fearful of the Coyote's medicine. But seizing a favorable

opportunity the latter entered, and began his descent into the cavernous interiors, where all living things had been drawn heretofore. He was shocked at the miserable appearance of the peoples here, who were in all stages of emaciation from the tolerably fair condition of those just come, to the mere skeletons wrapped with parchment skins of those long there. They were also in gloom and cold, and huddled together as if in fear, and seldom speaking.

He asked first why they did not make themselves comfortable, and pointed upward to the lobes of fat that surrounded the monster's vitals, and began to rub sticks to make a fire. He soon succeeded, and cutting flitches of fat fed the flames, and the heat soon rendered more, which burned brightly, and the people began to look somewhat more cheerful. But now gathering up his five knives he ascended the giant's interiors, reaching at last the heart. The fox, Kots-kots, was also sent to assemble all the people at the openings of the monster's body, and when his heart was cut away, and fell, they must rush to the sunshine.

The monster had no way of preventing Coyote going on with his work, but as ligament after ligament was severed it groaned and swayed from side to side. "Oh, oh, Coyote is a great medicine," it said. "Yes," replied the Coyote, "and I do not whine when I am hurt," and kept on cutting. It was no light task to sever the heart from the body, and knife after knife was worn back to the handle; the

fifth was nearly gone, when the last fastening was loosened, and the heart dropped, and the monster fell lifeless. At the same time the people escaped to the air and sunshine, and began roaming off. "Wait," said the Coyote, "and I will show you a last wonder." Then he began dividing the monster into pieces. "Of these," he said, "I will make a new race, to be called mankind." Casting a portion to the north, which was cut from the head, he formed the Flat Head nation. The feet he cast to the east, making the Blackfoot people. Other portions he cast into other quarters, until all were cast away except the heart.

"See this beautiful valley of the Lapwai," now said Kots-kots, the fox; "You have made races for all parts of the earth, except for the country of the Clearwater." "Bring me some water," said the Coyote, and taking the water, and mingling with it the blood from the heart of the monster, he sprinkled the drops over the valley of the Clearwater, and from them came up the Nez Perce people. As for the heart of the monster, which the Coyote cut away, it is still in the country of the Kamiah, in its proper size and shape, being now a heart-shaped hill in the middle of the valley.

STORY OF SINCHALEEP.

The Spokane story hardly need be related in full, as it is very much like the story from the Clatsops

of Tallapus and the cedar tree. It is also of the Coyote, called Sinchaleep by the Spokanes. There is quite a long introductory part. Sinchaleep once started out for a journey, and in order to make himself attractive combed his hair and painted his face, and put on his best manners. Becoming hungry, and at length meeting three women who had food and dainties in their baskets he addressed them and said, "Sit down, sisters, and I will sing to you and tell stories." This he did so pleasantly that when he stopped and asked, "What have you in your baskets, sisters?" they at once uncovered their dainties and gave him a portion. He thanked them and went on.

But feeling hungry again soon, he contrived how to meet them once more. Going to a spring and washing, and then painting and combing his hair differently he took a circle, and met them again. "Sit down, sisters," he said as before, "and I will sing and tell stories." The result was the same, and he performed the manœuvre a number of times, until at last the women suspected that this was no other than Sinchaleep himself. Seeing that he was discovered he then went to the hills, and finding a place in a hollow tree went to sleep. But the tree closed and he was shut in, being obliged to remain until the autumn and winter were passed, and the spring flowers bloomed.

Then follows the story of calling the birds, his release, loss of eyes, and his subsequent groping on the ground. He smelled the roses and filled his eyes,

and thus adorned felt and smelled his way, being led at length by the odor of smoke to the house of some women. By them he was derided, and his movements in feeling along, and guiding himself by the side of the house, were only provocative of their laughter. But he spoke at length of seeing a fire so far off that their eyes could not discover it; and from this, one was willing to exchange her eyes for his roses, and then for her folly she was changed into a snail.

From the adaptations of the above story to the local surroundings, that the Coyote went into the roots of the tree rather than the hollow cedar, and stayed all winter, and that it was a distant fire that he saw, as one might in an open country, and not the "Tomaniwus rays"—the spiritual lights—and the whole manner being that of a different scene, we may think this a genuine Spokane version; but the close resemblance to the Clatsop story shows that the two peoples had a comparatively recent connection.

The following story, or rather condensation from the story in full, is from the Klamath, and the resemblance with the Chehalis story of Tsmptstsmpts, and the Cheatco, will at once be noticed.

THE BEAR AND THE ANTELOPE

The Old Grizzly and the Old Antelope lived together in the same house, or lodge, and each had two children.

One morning early the two mothers went out to dig *ipo* roots. The Antelope was very industrious and soon filled her basket, but the Grizzly gathered none, but ate them as fast as she found them. Then they went home, and fed their young ones. The next day it was the same, except that the bear gathered a very few of the roots. She felt some concern for her cubs, however, and gave them strict orders not to hurt themselves playing while she was absent. "You must not slide down the lodge poles," she said, "for fear of making your hearts loose; you must not jump over logs for fear of being pierced by sharp sticks on the other side; and you must not dive in the water for fear of being drowned."

The third day when she went with the Antelope to gather roots, she got a few more for herself, but began conjuring how she might kill her partner and not only take her basket of nuts, but also eat her flesh. Pretending that she had vermin, and having the Antelope bite her neck, she then pretended that there were vermin on the Antelope, and biting her neck accomplished her base design. The Antelope was killed, and cut into pieces, and a part taken home and eaten. But the young antelopes suspecting what was wrong refused to eat the meat, and began contriving how to take revenge.

When the Grizzly had gone again, under pretense of seeking the old Antelope, the young antelopes began asking the bear cubs to play games. The cubs refused to play slide down the lodge poles, or to jump

over logs, or to dive under the water; but when the young antelopes proposed playing "Smoke out," there seemed to be no objection, as this had not been forbidden. The wood necessary for a smudge was then gathered, and by turns some of the young players went into the lodge, and were smudged until they could not longer endure it, and then were let out by the others outside uncovering the lodge. But when the time came for both the cubs to be smoked out, and when they were ready to smother, the young antelopes outside would not uncover the lodge, and the two cubs were killed indeed. They were then painted red and hung up to the lodge poles, as the flesh of the Old Antelope had been. The young antelopes then told each article in the house not to report what had happened, and fled. They forgot, however, to speak to the bone awl, sticking in the ceiling.

When the Old Grizzly returned she saw first the paint had been wasted, and then that her cubs had been killed. She at once called to the young antelopes, and got responses, "Yes, here we are," both inside and outside the house. But these were simply the various articles about the house, answering for the children. Then the bone awl spoke, and said, "They have been gone long ago." The awl also showed the Grizzly the place where they had gone out of the lodge, and had filled it up with coal after them.

Through this very place the Grizzly at length succeeded in passing, saying, "Rotten wood, rotten

wood breaks through." She pursued the children until coming at last to a cave. Into this she went and slept; but the young antelopes were also there hiding. The older one woke up the younger, and said they must escape, and they did so, going past the bear while she slept, but first throwing sticks into her eyes to see if she were soundly and truly asleep.

Having made good their escape the young antelopes then called upon the Old Crane, who was out in the water catching minnows with a gig net. They wished to be placed across the water, and as the Crane did this, they told him of the loss of their mother, and the pursuit of them by the bear. The Crane was very indignant and cried, "Lake water, lake water." The young antelopes were hardly well out of the way, however, before the Old Grizzly appeared, and called to the Old Crane to put her also across the water. The Crane objected at first, saying he had no canoe; but at length acceded and stretched his leg over, upon which the bear began to pass. At the middle of the leg, however, she took a skull cap, feeling thirsty, and dipping water drank, and threw away what remained, but in clearing the cap dashed it against the Crane's leg. By this he was incensed and threw his leg aside, dousing the bear in the water. Then going home he got his bow and shot the bear. The young antelopes, which Old Crane had blown inside a whistle and hung upon the wall for safe keeping, now came out and shot the Grizzly with arrows, and she was killed.

Gatschet says of this story "The myth of the bear and the antelope is one of the most attractive and best stylicized of the collection." He also adds that some archaic, or old-fashioned words seem to prove that the myth has been handed down for many centuries to the present generation.

The resemblances to the story of Tsmptstsmpts and the Cheatco and Old Thunder are in the number of the cubs, or the young animals; the escaping parties getting out under the lodge, and covering up the hole, and the pursuer going out after them; and finally the manner of both pursued and pursuer crossing the water, and the pursuer being dumped. This latter is so striking as to be scarcely the work of chance. This is especially noticeable as all the variations in the story from the coast legend are toward making the trick of dousing the bear inapposite and inconsequential. The dousing of the Cheatco, and changing him at the voice of Thunder into the noise of the surf, to guide men in their foretelling of the weather, is wholly natural and an imposing idea to the savage; but dousing a grizzly into the shallow water of a lake where a crane could catch minnows is so slight a circumstance that the story itself was obliged to have the Crane get his bow in order to kill the bear. The ducking was no more than an indignity to the Grizzly. The change of the leg of Old Thunder to that of the Crane, as a foot log, may seem in the interest of verisimilitude, as it seems somewhat curious that the coast Indians should conceive of thunder, even per-

sonified, as having legs. To the Klamath story teller this seemed so improbable as to require change. The Klamaths had stories of the Thunders, but did not seem to associate legs of unusual size with these old creatures. To the coast Indians, however, thunder is associated with vast black clouds, and one of their primitive monsters was the thunder *Bird*, whose wings spanned the heavens, whose flapping made the peals, and whose flashing eyes made the lightning. The home of these birds was the tops of the mountains, Saddle Mountain, or Swallallachost, being a favorite haunt, and upon its peak the Indians still believe may be found the mammoth bones of whales —considering the columns of basalt near the top of the mountain, which occur there singularly, to be such bones—brought thither by the bird. Of course a bird of such dimensions would have great legs, and it was most natural to think that Thunder, in his original state, as a person, and a whale fisher, had at least potentially enormous legs. It would seem evident then that the Klamath story was a development, and rather a coming down, from the coast Indians' conception—the thunder bird being a crane and the whales reduced to minnows, and the grizzly a modification of the terrible Cheatco, and the ducking a mere personal indignity. Indeed, all this part of the story is made subordinate to the first part, having been all but refined out of sight. The main idea of the story is moral, that the perfidy of the bear was punished. It may also have some historical sig-

nificance, the bear and the antelope perhaps meaning Indian tribes—this part being attached to the older and purely mythical part.

As to the two cubs, a younger and older, Gatschet remarks: "In Indian mythologies the bear cubs always appear two in number, the older and the younger. The same may be said of the majority of quadrupeds." He also says that five is the sacred or complete number in all the Indian stories—Tsmptstsmpts and his brothers being five in number as an illustration.

While it belongs to the ethnologist rather than to the historian to determine the value of these resemblances, it is worthy of notice here that they exist, and unless otherwise explained would indicate that even the Klamaths and Modocs drew their original ideas and lore from a source that was once the same as the Chinooks, Clatsops, and Spokanes. This would strengthen the presumption that all the Indians of Oregon, at least, were of common stock.

THE MYTH OF THE RABBIT AND THE DEVOURING HILL.

(An Omaha Legend.)

There was a Hill that drew people to its mouth. The Rabbit and his grandmother went by, and the grandmother said, "The Hill is bad, beware lest you go thither; go not thither."

But afterwards the Rabbit went, and came to the devouring Hill, whose name was Pahe-Wathahuni, and said to it, "You who devour people, devour me." But the Hill knew him, and refused to take him into its stomach. The Rabbit watched his chance and as a company went in, he slipped in with them; but the Hill, being disturbed that he was there, vomited and cast him up. Then he, the Rabbit, changed himself to the form of a man, and as a company went in, he also slipped in with them. This time the Hill did not know him, and did not throw him up. When the Rabbit arrived he saw in the distance the whitened bones of the people who had gone in before, upon some of whom the dried flesh was sticking next the bones, for they had long been dead; and those not so much wasted, and those just died, and others but shortly entered, who were still alive. The Rabbit said to them, "Why do you not eat? you should have eaten that fat heart; were I in your place I would have eaten it." Then he seized his knife, and cut the heart. Pahe-Wathahuni said, "Hanh, hanh, hanh!"—(or Oh, oh, oh!) "Do not say Hanh, hanh, hanh!" said the Rabbit; and he gathered up the pieces of the heart and of the fat, and the Hill split of its own accord, and the people passed out and went home.

But after going home they assembled again and decided to make the Rabbit chief. He replied, "Why should you make me chief? Have I been acting as if I wanted to be chief?" Then he took the fat of the

Hill's heart on his shoulders and went home to his grandmother. He told her that he had killed the devouring Hill. She replied, "Oh, you very Bad Big-Foot; you very bad Split-Mouth, have you killed the Hill that should only have been killed long ago?" But when she went out and saw the pile of fat she said, "He told nothing but the truth after all."

The similarity of this to the Nez Perce story of the Coyote and the Monster of Kamiah is quite striking. It is possible, certainly, that the story was passed from one tribe to another, and does not necessarily date to the time of a common origin. But it seems more probable that the connection was remote, and that there was a time when the two tribes were more closely joined. The story would seem rather to come, or pass, from the west to the Omahas—as this story of the Rabbit is the Omaha version. The Nez Perce story accounts for the heart-shaped hill at Kamiah, and the creation of the tribes. The Omaha story, while mentioning the hill, the crafty entrance to its interior, the cutting of the heart, and the complaint of the Hill, and retort of the Rabbit, as in the Nez Perce, has no hill to account for, or races of men. We should imagine that the story was invented first in a volcanic land, where there are hollow mountains.

CHAPTER IV

Creation Stories of the Indians

THE Indians seem to have had no conception of any one particular act of creation. They never proceeded by the process of abstraction so far as to attempt to refer all things to one creative mind, as has been done in the Christian theology, or to one universal force or condition, as has been done by various classes of deists, or such scientists as Haeckel, or philosophers as Spencer, who would if possible unite the conception of mind and matter under one head, or term, as Force, and define themselves as monists.

But our Indians never got back so far as this, but were in the state of thought of the Greeks before the days of Homer. They were deeply impressed with the thought of the changes on the earth, and considered that things must have been brought to their present condition by some sort of exterior agency. They had not observed nature long enough, or closely enough in its larger operations, to consider the operation of natural laws, as we are pleased now to call them, to bring about the effects that we see. They concluded then that there must have been personal beings of such size and power as to bring the earth to its present condition, and to place the various tribes of animals and men upon the earth. They thought the efficient force must certainly have been of a personal character, and great enough to produce the changes they considered had been made. They therefore peopled the world in most ancient times

with beings of great size, who were able to scoop out rivers, heave up mountains, cut off the faces of the hills, and to transform one sort of being to another form. The word " Old " prefixed to all the beings thus described does not indicate either old age, or have any such humorous suggestion as with us. When the narrators of the Indians spoke of Old Thunder, or Old Grizzly, or Old Crane, or Old Eagle, or Old Mink, or Old Marten, they meant simply these various animals as they existed in the old or primitive time, when the world was quite different from what it is now. These beings were all persons then, as the Indians are careful to explain. They lived and flourished, and made things to suit their size, and carried out their various plans. The world was well suited to them, and they lived lustily, and enjoyed themselves. Nearly all the larger natural objects are the relics of their operations, such as mountains and hills, which often still bear the marks of their hands.

But in the further reasonings of the Indian philosophers—and perhaps they reasoned as rationally as any other men, though without the advantage of so much data—it appeared that the world as first constructed was not suited to the needs of mankind. Man, in this world of vast forces, when Old Thunder fished for whale, and the north and the south winds blew back and forth from their castles, and the old man of the sea stuck up his head or put on his cap and filled the earth with mist, was a poor puny and

insignificant creature, subjected to the whims of monsters who cared nothing for him, and usually made him their sport or their prey.

How the world was changed then from an order formed to these great but cruel beings, who were withholden from the gratification of their appetites and passions by no fear, became the most interesting question. Certainly there seemed to be no natural power to restrain the winds, or the sea, or the thunder, or the numberless older forces of fire; and the native mind waited long to solve the riddle. Who, or what, could restrain these giants, and make the earth suitable for man? Who, indeed, could be the friend of mankind, since all the forces must be working alone for themselves?—whose contests were sometimes in the interest of man, but quite as often only added to his miseries.

There seemed to be only one solution, and that was that the world was made better by the force of *Thought*. But what beings would care to think for man? It was evidently not the great and ravenous ones, like the thunders, the winds, the sea, the giants, or the mountains and mountain caves. These all represented merely unreasoning violence and passion, without pity. To the weaker animals, then, the Indians began to look as the type of thinking beings that cared for man, and was also shrewd enough to use the power of thought to restrain the violence of the ancient beings, who cared nothing for him. The coyote was the favorite among the Indians of

Oregon; the fox was also esteemed as a good second. The mink and the marten were also considered as man's friend in the ancient struggle against the forces. The bear and gray wolf, and larger animals sometimes played a part for man; as also the birds, and the inferior, or crawling animals. But it was chiefly the quadrupeds smaller than man; while the very small, or inferior ones, or those ravenous and hostile to men now, were figured as the humiliated and degraded forces themselves, in many cases at least, left but as the relic of what they once were, still having their violent or base disposition, but without their power. The rabbit seems to have been a great favorite with the Indians of the plains, as the fox with the early Grecian fabulists; but the coyote was liked best in Oregon—a somewhat miserable and cowardly little beast, but apparently endowed with human speech, and susceptible of domestication. The Indian dogs are indeed but tame coyotes.

There was an old god among the Clatsops, at least; Ekahni, the god of fire. The scenes of volcanoes or earthquakes were considered as his especial haunts. But he had no more care than the giants for mankind, or perhaps never even created man. The changes in the earth, or the privileges that men prize—the natural advantages, as real estate dealers now describe them—were due to the coyote. Certainly it must not be understood that the Creative Thinker, who overcame giants by shrewd calculation, was the mere animal coyote. He was rather the Spirit or Mind

best illustrated among animals by the coyote, but was able to assume all sorts of shapes, and was endowed with powers not belonging to any coyotes we now know. He was the Thinker, and pre-eminently the *Worker*. He accomplished nothing by violence or war, but simply pitted the forces against one another, or caused them to perish by their own folly. He was believed to be benevolent also, though often himself performing questionable tricks—and the friend of man—who was originally the most foolish and wretched of beings.

The stories telling of the works and adventures of the coyote are numberless, but may be grouped around the three or four main heads. One is the making of waterfalls; another is the obtaining of fire; another is the destruction of monsters, and changing them into objects of use, or not harmful to mankind; and still another is his teachings of laws and arts, and punishments of men for disobedience.

One or two of each species will now be given, as illustrating the development of the Indian's ideas, and showing how he became a factor in the historical development of our State.

MAKING OF THE FALLS OF THE WILLAMETTE, AND THE WONDERFUL BOY.

Tallapus came to the Willamette Valley from the sea coast. He had there been teaching the people,

and now wished to extend his operations. He found the people of the Willamette in a very miserable condition. They were without food, and were also the prey of giants.

He decided first to supply them with food. To do so he would make a waterfall, or *tumtum*, as the Indians name it, from the resemblance of the sound of the falling water to the beating of the heart, which is also *tumtum*. The Willamette was full of salmon at certain seasons, but the feeble and witless tribes could not spear them in the deep water. Tallapus would make a fall, where the fish would come to the surface, and also a trap, which would catch the fish. He began to make a fall at the mouth of the Pudding River—or Hanteuc; but was not satisfied with the place, and leaving only a gravel bar there, went on down to Rock Island. At this point he proceeded far enough to make a strong rapid, but still concluding this was not the best, he went on down to the present place, and completed an ideal fall for fishing. Here the salmon came year after year, and gathered in immense shoals, leaping clear of the water, in their efforts to pass the obstruction, and would also fall back in many, or most, cases. They could then be taken either by spear or trap.

Having made the fall, and inviting the tribes to come and get the fish, Tallapus then proceeded with making his wonderful trap. He invented one that would speak, and say *noseepsk* when it was full. To test it first himself, and as he was hungry also, he

set the trap by the fall, and at once went up the shore and began making a fire to cook the fish, which he was sure the trap would take; but scarcely had he begun his preparations before the trap called out loudly "Noseepsk." Much pleased he went at once and found the trap indeed full of fine fish. Hurrying back he began his fire, but the trap called again "Noseepsk, noseepsk." He went again and found it full; but when this happened the third time, he became impatient, and said, "What, can you not wait about catching fish and crying until I have time to build a fire?" By this rebuke the trap became offended, and would work no more. So the people were left to simply spear the fish.

The story, which is also a continued one, proceeds then to tell of the great tribe that flourished on the shore, one great man being chief. The village was on the right bank. In his days there came a monster, or Skookum, from the mountains, and devoured all the people but the wife and unborn son of the chief. She escaped, and after her son was born, in order to make him great, bathed her child in the skookum waters. When he was well grown and very strong she returned to the old village, and showed him his father's arms and implements. "This," she said, "is the spear with which your father speared salmon. This is the bow with which your father shot arrows; and this is the axe with which your father split wood."

But even while they were speaking the Skookum again came from the woods, and began to speak with

the boy. The latter was not afraid of the monster, but began to contrive how he might kill it. Taking his father's axe, as if to show off his strength he lifted and struck it into a gnarly log, partly splitting it at the end, then said to the Skookum, "If you are so strong as they say, put your fingers in the crack, and hold it open while I take another blow with my father's axe." The Skookum, flattered and boastful, did as asked, but the boy at once withdrew his axe, the log closed upon the fingers of the Skookum, holding them fast, so that he was easily slain.

Wishing now that his father and the tribe who had been killed would come back, seeing that the monster was dead, the boy then took an arrow, and with his father's bow shot it into the sky. "When this arrow falls," he said, "let the tribe come back." The arrow fell, and soon the tribe, with the stern chief and his people in their canoes, were seen returning. As if not knowing that he had been absent, and seeing his son, but not knowing him, he cried, "Who are you here?" and struck him across the face. By this the boy was grieved, and going to the falls sat above them and wept. His tears fell down in such copious streams as to form the holes in the rocks under the falls. After thus giving way to his feelings he decided to be changed into a fish, and became a salmon, and sought a resting place up the river. At the mouth of the Tualatin, of the Hanteuc, of the Yamhill, and of the other tributaries of the Willamette, he found a fall or some other disturbance, and contin-

ued his journey as far as the Santiam, flowing down with clear pellucid stream from the Cascades. This suited him, and here he entered, but was changed by Tallapus into a rock near the mouth of the river, of the shape of a fish, so as to guide the salmon to their spawning grounds. Hence the salmon that passed the Willamette Falls never stopped at any affluent until reaching the Santiam, but there seeing the indication, they would flap their tails, and saluting the rock, pass on to the gravel bars of the upper waters.

Grotesque as this story appears we may recall that it was in the form of a fish that Saturn was said to have come into Italy, in the earliest times, and to have taught mankind the rules of the Golden Age.

This cycle continues quite indefinitely, the next most notable event being the decimation of the prosperous people on the west side of the falls by a monstrous Skookum that lived on the flat near the mouth of the Tualatin. This creature had no need of going to the village, to commit its ravages, but merely reached out its tongue, which was long enough to extend from the Tualatin to the *tumtum*, and lick up its victims. Tallapus at length arriving, and finding

the terror and misery of the people, destroyed the Skookum, and buried her under the cliffs on the west side of the river.

The Skookums were female monsters, as the Cheatcos were male. The voices of the former could be heard in the deep forests when the trees creaked, or the panthers screamed. They correspond quite closely to the early British or Norman idea of the Mothers, or Night Mares, the mythical but much dreaded beings that haunted the regions of sleep—and are still spoken of in connection with very bad dreams. They were figured to the Indians as very old and witch-like women, with long dangling breasts, or *tatoosh*, which hung so low on their bodies as to inconvenience their swift movements through the shadows, and which in consequence they flung backwards over their shoulders.

THE COYOTE ON THE KLAMATH RIVER.

The following story is found in the collection of Bancroft, and is given as a tradition among the Cahrocs.

The Coyote went at length in his tours of inspection to the country of the Klamath River, and found the people there in the most destitute condition. The river had had an abundance of salmon, but three Skookums at the mouth of the stream had constructed

a dam, so that they might get all the fish, and this prevented the ascent of the customary food supply. By this selfishness of the Skookums he was much incensed and vowed that before many days so many fish should come up the river as to give all the men, women, and children, and even the dogs, all the food they could eat.

He went to the mouth of the river and found the house of the Skookums, and entering as a harmless coyote began his observations. Although he was hungry and whined for some of the fine fish that the Skookums had, he was not noticed, and his fast was unbroken, even with the smell of delicious salmon in his nostrils. He saw, however, where the Skookums kept their key for the gate of the dam, and next morning, when one of the three weird women started down to open the trap and let a fish in for herself, he darted out of the lodge, and running between her feet succeeded in tripping her, so that she fell and threw the key out of her hand. Seizing this instantly the Coyote went to the dam, and opened the gate, letting the swarming salmon pass through, and up to the country of the Cahrocs. He then broke down the dam, and since that time the fish have gone every year to the upper stream.

This is a moral story, with the purpose of teaching the injustice of monopolizing natural bounty, and that a tribe which shuts off the food, or fish, supply of another above, is morally as hideous as the Skookum witches.

LEGEND OF THE CASCADES, WI-YÉ-AST, KLICKITAT, AND LOO-WIT.

Many legends have been circulated in regard to the formation of the Cascades of the Columbia, the idea of a bridge once spanning the narrow stream having been very attractive, one of Samuel Clarke's most noted poems, which was published about 1870 in *Harper's Magazine*, having been founded upon the idea. F. H. Balch's novel, the very best ever produced in Oregon, from a literary standpoint, "The Bridge of the Gods," was also founded upon the legend. Balch states in a note that his idea was from the Indians themselves, some old aborigines even claiming that the bridge was standing in the days of their "Grandfather." But we should remember that to Indians the passage of time was soon lost account of, and all the old events are considered by them as in the times of their grandfathers. Rev. Myron Eells, of Towana, Washington, who was making research into the native traditions for accounts of the Deluge, after finding one that seemed to accord remarkably with the narrative in Genesis, was not a little taken aback, when he asked how long ago this happened, to get the reply, "In the days of my grandfather."

Professor Condon, of the University of Oregon, finds some geological evidence of a natural bridge across the Columbia; or heavy slides from the south side may have occurred within comparatively



THE CASCADES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Place where the legendary "Bridge of the Gods" is said to have existed.

From a photograph by Lee Moorhouse, Pendleton, Oregon.



recent times from the mountains, and have broken down some natural bridge across a small tributary.

Probably the most complete Indian story of this bridge is that given in the *Oregon Native Son*, for January, 1900, by F. H. Saylor, as related to him by an old Klickitat, who lived, however, in the Willamette Valley. This Indian has attained a great age, and was well known to the writer. He was a man of much intelligence, and great native dignity, even in old age and poverty. He never acquired the English language, but talked fluently and with great animation, or even excitement, in jargon. He once told, in the hearing of the writer, of the raid of the Klickitats into the Willamette Valley, before the whites came, and when probably he himself became an immigrant. He was from earliest times a fast friend of the whites, and had the reputation of giving them valuable assistance or information during the general Indian war. He was usually called "Old McKay"—though Saylor thinks his true name was Makiah. Among the pioneers of Washington County his Indian name is remembered as Wyanoshot—though Indians often had more than one name.

McKay's story, much condensed, is as follows:*

In the earliest days, when man was created, all was paradise. The Great Spirit, whose home was the sun, had provided all that was needed, and hunger, cold,

* The story is inserted here as the idea of a bridge across the Columbia has entered so largely into Oregon literature; but it is probable that the story as now understood is a misapprehension. Judge

and want were unknown. Man's first home was to the eastward, but after the couple who had been created first had children, quarrels arose over the ownership of the land, the oldest son wishing it all. The Great Spirit then decided to remove them to a new land. When they were asleep he brought them to a great country, divided by high mountains, the land looking from this chain eastward and westward. Bringing the two sons to the top of these mountains he told them to shoot an arrow in the sky, and each should follow the flight that his arrow took, whether east or west. One arrow fell eastward, over the country of the Klickitats, and the other westward, over the Willamette Valley—for this dividing chain of mountains was the Cascades. Each followed his arrow, and became a chief in his country. Between them flowed the Columbia River, as well as rose the

Thomas McBride, who is very conversant with Klickitat Indian legends, and was personally acquainted with Wyanoshot, whose home was on his father's farm, has said to the writer that he could find no trace of an idea of a natural bridge across the Columbia at the Cascades. By the Jesuit missionary, Father De Smet, who wrote in 1846, it is said: "Our grandfathers," said the Indians to me, "remember the time when the waters passed here quietly [at the Cascades] and without any obstruction, under a long range of towering and projecting rocks; which unable to bear their weight any longer, crumbled down, thus stopping up and raising the bed of the river; here it overflowed the great forest of cedar and of pine which are still to be seen above the Cascades." It would seem, thus, that it was not a natural bridge across the river, but a long ledge overhanging the south shore, under which the waters passed—a singular and striking formation, resemblances to which are often met in the mountains near the Columbia, and affording the possibility of a slide which choked up the river and formed the obstruction at the Cascades.

dividing mountains, but the river was to be a sign of peace. As long as it flowed they were to be friends, and for a further sign of fraternity the Great Spirit placed across the river a bridge.

The people multiplied in both sections, but became corrupt, and then for the first time the favor of the Great Spirit was withdrawn. The sun ceased to reign all the time, and cold and snow appeared. The people then began to seek for fire, but found none. But there was one very old woman, who had kept the original purity, and as they suspected she also had fire in her lodge. They attempted to get it, but though she was so old, the woman escaped, and the Indians' best runners could not overtake her—as they were stiffened with cold.

They then began to repent and prayed the Great Spirit to grant them fire. He heard their prayer, and calling to the woman told her to give the people fire, and for her faithfulness he would grant her anything she wished. She asked for youth and beauty, and promised that if these were given her, to establish herself on the bridge, or "Tomaniwus Illahee," and there keep a fire forever burning, which should be a reminder of the goodness of the Great Spirit. The people were very willing to promise to be good if fire were given them, and the old woman, whose name was Loo-wit, gathered sticks and built the fire upon the bridge. She made it upon a large stone there, and the people were greatly rejoiced to feel the warmth once more—the gift of the now absent sun.

Loo-wit also was changed to a young and beautiful woman.

In the course of time she had many suitors. Two only of these found any favor with her, but between these she could not decide. One of these was Wi-yé-ast, from the southward, and the other was Klickitat from the northward. As Loo-wit still kept them in suspense they became jealous, and quarreled, and their relatives took the matter up, until war and death again became prevalent as before. By this the Great Spirit was angry. He returned and broke down the bridge, which had been a sign of peace, and transformed the two chiefs into mountains—making of Wiyéast Mount Hood, and of Klickitat Mount Adams; which even yet sometimes shoot fire and rocks at one another. Of Loo-wit, who was also to blame, he made Mount St. Helens, and all were to be forever fringed about with snow and ice, and half the year was to be winter even in the valleys, as a punishment for their new disobedience. Loo-wit, however, having been promised eternal youth and beauty, still retains these, being yet the most beautiful of all mountains.

This story strikes one as largely imaginary, and of Christian ideas; the punishment of sin, and the disobedience and renewed apostasy of mankind being familiar themes. But the later portions strike one as more like the Indian. The transformation of erring men into mountains, or rocks, is very common in the native myths. It is worthy of note, too, that the

Great Spirit is said to have his home in the sun. Among the Klamaths the chief hero, Kmukamtsch, is said by Gatschet to be merely the personification of the sun.

FIRE STORIES.

The origin of fire was of great interest to the Indians. Fire was their one great comfort and utility, and the mysterious manner in which it was produced led to much speculation. It could be obtained by rubbing sticks together, or by striking flints. How did it first get into the wood, or the rock?

THE COYOTE AND THE THREE WITCHES.

The Coyote, in the long ago, found men miserable and unhappy on account of the cold. He resolved to get fire for them. But he knew of only one place where there was fire. This was on the top of a mountain, and it was guarded by three witches—Skookums, or Tatoosh women. They feared nothing so much as that the fire would be stolen, and men would then become not only more comfortable, but perhaps be as powerful as the Giants and Skookums themselves.

The Coyote came first, in his innocent form as the most miserable and cowardly of the brutes, to the

mountain top of the witches, and observed how they kept guard. One was always on the watch; but he noticed that just at dawn, when the one that kept watch at night, was ready to retire, and another came, there was a short interval when no one was on duty —the one coming on being a little tardy about getting out in the cold, and the other being a little anxious to return to the lodge. He decided therefore that this was his only chance to seize the fire. But he needed the help of the other animals. He knew that the witches would chase him, and when his strength was gone he must give the fire to another. Accordingly he consulted with all the animals, and had them take places at convenient distances for his purpose.

When all was ready he went again to the mountain top, and waiting until morning, was ready to seize his opportunity. The witch on guard, as dawn appeared, cried as usual, "Sister, sister, get up and watch the fire," and then went to the lodge. The second sister was a little slow, and the Coyote seized the fire on a burning brand, and ran as quickly as possible down the mountain. He was soon pursued, and was all but overtaken. Indeed, the witch had the tip of his tail in her grasp, leaving the tip white to this day; but at that moment he reached the wolf, who took the brand and went on. The witch then pursued the wolf, but he reached another animal in time to pass the fire along. All the animals were in turn brought in and pursued, down to the frog, which took the fire, now a mere coal, and hopped away. The

witch soon was up with him, and caught his tail; but he gave a desperate leap, getting away, but leaving the tail in the witch's hand—so that to this day frogs have no tail. But he was soon overtaken again, and would have had to give up the precious coal, but that he spit it out upon a stick of wood, and the wood took it within. The witch did not know how to get it out of the wood, but the Coyote instructed men to bring it forth by rubbing sticks together, and from that day men have had the use of fire.

THE OLD MAN AND THE FIRE WHEEL.

Another story represents the Coyote as finding, upon one of his journeys, that fire had at length been monopolized by an old man, who had a wheel, or mill, at the Cascades, with which he made fire, and refused to all others the use of it. The Coyote came to the place quite accidentally in the evening, and heard the mill creaking, saying, "Pitli, pitli, pitli," and took it first to be the voice of a man wailing for a dead son. He then himself responded, as was right, making a disconsolate wail. But the wheel went on creaking, "Pitli, pitli, pitli," and the Coyote wailed once more, more disconsolately than before. But as the creaking continued, he wailed still again, so dolefully as to almost break his heart. But still having no response he suspected something wrong;

and investigating found the old man making fire. He was angry that he had been deceived, and his sympathy thrown away, and he at once commanded the man to share his fire with others—recording once more a moral against selfishness.

A long cycle of stories is furnished by a northern tribe as given in Bancroft's collection, of the Crow, named Yehl, who brought fire from the islands of the west. He was then a white seabird, but in coming back across the water his beak was burned partly off, giving the crow his short bill. He reached the land, however, and dropping the fire placed it into the flint rocks, from which it may be forced by a blow. Yehl also procured fresh water from the old man of the sea, who had only to put on his cap to bring up the fog and clouds. At the lodge of this selfish old man, after he had drank water out of the well, and had tried to escape through the chimney—or fire hole—in the roof and was stuck for a time he was smoked black, giving the crow his black plumage to this day. In one of his transformations also Yehl became a child in the house of the old man who had shut up the sun, moon, and stars, in three strong boxes; and by much crying and naughtiness was at length allowed to play with the boxes, releasing the heavenly bodies, which thereafter shone for men.

This series has quite a distinct air from the Oregon myths, and show their origin in a high latitude, and a possible connection with the Aleutian Islands, or possibly with the Hawaiians.

FURTHER TRANSFORMATIONS.

Every locality has its legends, or series of legends, of the objects there seen. They are often extended to great length, and need here be only briefly mentioned—or hardly even thus.

Near the mouth of the Columbia River some tall rocks, the most prominent of which is that upon which Tillamook Light is placed, were originally a man, woman, and children, who contrary to the direction of Tallapus, attempted to walk on the water. A rock off Chinook Point is a transmogrified girl, who bathed indecently, contrary to the customs of Tallapus. Pillar Rock, some twenty-five miles up the Columbia, is a man changed to stone, for attempting to walk over the river. The rocks at Oak Point, on the north side of the river, are a company of men in canoes, who were changed to stone for traveling on land with their canoes, contrary to the laws of Tallapus. The stains upon the cliff near Clifton, or Cathlamet Point, are the tears of Tallapus, who there lamented the hardness of heart of the people whom he had instructed and tried to help. The cliff of Kahni Mountain, in Tillamook County, where once was the home of the old god of Fire, was brought to its present shape by a single blow of the hatchet of Tallapus, who thus showed his anger at the wretched state of man, before he decided to undertake his relief, and assumed his form as a Coyote. The marks of the head of Tallapus in his cradle, or his flatten-

ing board, now of rock, may be seen in Tillamook County.

Farther up the Columbia, Rooster Rock, and Castle Rock, are said to be two chiefs, who wooed the same girl, but were both kept in suspense until they quarreled, and were then changed into rocks, separated by the river, while the girl was punished by being changed to the Horsetail Waterfall, ever escaping up the hill, with her beautiful hair trailing behind, but still never getting away.

The ice cave near Mount Adams was the home of an old woman—Lummei—who had many children. By a trick, with her brightest boy's assistance, she succeeded in burning up a Skookum that had eaten some of her young ones. A lake in the Cascade Mountains was the scene of the transformation of the old original big Mosquito—a giant who devoured men, until the Coyote, or Speelyi, in the Klickitat, changed him into annoying but comparatively harmless insects. A very pretty legend has been told of Mount Ranier. This was the home of Nakahni, who was a shepherd with flocks of wild goats. He fell in love with Lawiswis, a beautiful and innocent girl of the valleys. He created a troop of fairies to accompany her. But on account of his preference, Memelek, the incarnation of feminine evil, was jealous, and determined to kill Lawiswis; creeping up on her as she slept, and urging the vipers with which her waist and hair were bound, to bite and kill the sleeping favorite. The guardian fairies, however, cried to

Nakahni, who answered them as they clustered about their charge, some red with rage, others white with fear, by giving them spears, by which the reptiles of Memelek were kept back. He then came himself and took Lawiswis, and changed the fairies into roses, but left them their spears as thorns. Roses are still sacred flowers, among the Indians, and are thought to keep back death with their thorns.

The enumeration might be continued, but the foregoing are sufficient to illustrate the origin of the most of the Indian legends. Their hero is an ideal, combining intelligence and benevolence, but neither of them of a refined order. The intelligence is often merely craft, and the benevolence is often not superior to lust or revenge. Nevertheless there is a strong sense of justice and of gratitude. Injustice is indeed the worst crime, and all man's evils are due to disobedience and ingratitude to some kind of a superior power. The hero of this type of character seems never to have been found by Indian fabulists, or myth-makers, among human beings. To find a personality around which narrative and myth might be woven, they looked to the animals. Tallapus among the Clatsops and Chinooks; Who-níc-who-nie, among the Chehalis; Speelyi among the Klickitats, Sinchaleep among the Spokanes, or in each case the idealized coyote, thus became the tribal hero, and from him, or his doings, arose the myths of nature, and to him was attributed the destruction of the giants who were changed into the present inferior animals, having

the disposition, but without the power, of their old, or original, persons.

It is not intended in this book, great as is the interest of this subject, and all the more so the more the details are examined, however, to offer more than an introduction to the historical connection of the Oregon Indians with the development of the State. This chapter, which was intended to show somewhat the range of mind and ideas of the Indians, must now therefore be closed with a short sketch from the work, probably the most scientific and painstaking of any on the subject, of Albert S. Gatschet, who spent some years with the Klamaths and Modocs, and whose books on their customs, legends, language, and grammar, were published by the Smithsonian Institute. This is given here as showing an origin to the Indian myths earlier and more philosophical than the Coyote and giant stories of the more northern Indians, and no doubt dating to the primitive times before the races left their home in Asia. After this a few remarks will be offered on the course of development of the Indian traditions, and the beginnings among them of true history.

The Klamaths had one chief god, who was chiefly the creator of man, and all that concerns the comfort and advantage of man, such as fisheries, islands, funeral places, sweat lodges, and the like. He made the Klamath Indians out of a service-berry bush; it was allowed also that he made the white man, but placed him in the shade, thus not giving him the

ruddy complexion of the Klamaths who were placed in the sunshine. At the making of man the Creator consulted with three animals, the mole, the garter snake, and the flybug. He wished to know whether man should be immortal, or return after death. The garter snake thought he should be immortal, as he himself had the power to change his skin, and renew his youth. The mole thought he should not be, as he himself grew old and feeble, and therefore feared that man, if returning from death, would do him injury in old age. The flybug thought also that man should not live always, or return, as he would do him much injury by stepping upon the flies and bugs, unless he died and passed away betimes. So man did not return when he died. But that these were not the real snake, and mole, and fly, is shown by the mole at once proceeding to heave up the mountains. Gatschet notices the correspondence of this with a creation story of the Pitt River Indians that the coyote and fox made man, and then disputed whether he should return from death, the idea of the coyote prevailing. It is noticeable that the Pitt River story shows a resemblance to the Nez Perce story of the creation of man by the coyote out of the Kamiah monster, with the help of the fox.

Kmukamtsch also created the Modocs, but in a much more startling manner. He had a daughter, who was the mottled evening sky, and with her he went to the land of shades, where he saw the dead in a vast multitude, who danced five nights around a

central fire. But in the daytimes their bodies returned to bones. He took some of the bones in his bag, and cast them in pairs over the earth; the last, and probably the best, pair being the first of the Modocs. He then went with his daughter to the sun. Here is again a resemblance to the Nez Perce story, and the Omaha parallel, in the idea of a region of the dead, with a fire, and some of the dead coming back, and men arising from the reanimated appropriations. In its primary idea there is little doubt that the Omaha and Nez Perce, and the Modoc conception are the same, and are but another form of the Greek Tartarus, or Orchus. It is noticeable that the farther back the idea goes, it gains in grandeur and dignity; Kmukamtsch of the Klamaths going to the interior with the mottled evening clouds and returning to the sun by the horizon and zenith; while in the Omaha story it is but a rabbit going into a hollow hill and coming back with the fat of the heart on his shoulders.

Kmukamtsch was the old man of the ancients, our old father, or the One on High. His coming was attended by a fire mist in the west or north, called *shunish;* around his head was the halo, and his arrows were strong, but often missed their aim, being shortened by the smoke of summer. In his transformations he became most commonly the pine marten, or *skel*, and as this animal he had all sorts of adventures. The changing coat of the marten, being of a yellowish hue in autumn, suggested this animal

as the sign of the god. Gatschet considers it certain that Kmukamtsch was the sun, all the myths showing the character of that heavenly body, and a Modoc legend saying, "At the call of the morning star Kmush sprang from the ashes of the fiery sky as hale and bright as ever, and so will he continue to live as long as the disk of the sun and the morning star shall last, for the morning star is the Medicine of the disk."

As *skel*, or the marten, accompanied by the halo, or the silver fox, he represents the sun of summer, who kills the north wind, and afterwards by putting on the north wind's hat he quells the Thunder brothers, being then the sun of winter. He punishes disobedient men by changing them into rocks, or by burning.

The son, or adopted son, of Kmukamtsch, was Aishish, whose full face was yellowish, but his fire was blue, and his arrows always hit the mark. With his father he was always at outs, or opposite, and was often, or regularly, killed by his father after numberless deceits and stratagems, being reduced first to mere skeleton of thin bones; but he just as often kills his father, and both always come back again as bright as ever. He was born of a bird, the tanager, but was concealed first by his adopted father. He is the moon. The old Modocs tell of a hill where in ancient times the sun and the moon lived together. Aishish had many wives, and with these the father was always carrying on intrigues, much like the Greek Jupiter, but the wives usually pre-

ferred Aishish, and could be persuaded to accept the attentions of Kmukamtsch only when he told them their lawful husband was dead.

The two winds, North and South; and the Five Thunders, were also ancient deities. The Thunders were often doing damage, often destroying people, even once splitting a pine tree in fragments to kill a woman whom Skel had concealed there; but they were themselves killed by Skel, who put on the North Wind's hat, and they fought each other, being tied together by the hair, until their five hearts exploded in five thunder claps and they went to the sky in lightning flashes, where they now roar, but seldom do damage.

Many animals, and especially the birds, were deified. The Coyote, *Wash*, or Washamtscht, was not the favorite as among other tribes, but still a leading god. The Whirlwind was a separate god. There were spirits, or Skoks (Skookums?), and giants—the Elip Tilikum, of the Yakimas, two of whom were changed to stone in the Yakima country. There were also dwarfs, one of whom leaves little tracks in the snow of the mountains; and another, Gwinnwin, a very bad one, who used to sit on the top of his house and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

A word may be said as to the development of all the myths and legends of the Indians. Beginning with certain general ideas common to all primitive peoples, they illustrated their conceptions under the

form of allegories, or actually conceived the main great operations of nature in that way. The chief interest then lay in the amplification and elaboration of the illustration, or figure, until the original was nearly forgotten. Not the Sun, but Skel, the type, became the chief hero. He was endowed with the greatness of the sun, but with the limitations of the animal. As the stories continued the story teller was obliged to invent new situations to meet the increasing observations of the people, and show the superiority of his hero to all. A close and minute study of all animal life then became necessary; otherwise the listener would not be convinced that Skel, or the Coyote, of the other tribes, was really the representative of the chief being. This seems to have been about the extent of the Klamath development. Their study of nature and animal life is very complete, and the fine points of animal, or natural disposition are very accurately and quaintly expressed. Their songs are mostly of the elements, or animals. The North Wind says, "I am the North Wind, and in my path am irresistible."

Another wind song says,

I, the Wind, am blowing,
Everywhere am blowing,
In the sky am blowing.

The loon says, "I am the loon, and my waves follow me."

The eagle says, "High in the air I cut my magic circles."

The yellow jacket says, "Here I am buzzing around."

The woodpecker says,

"The woodpecker, I am sticking fast;
Upward looking I stick to the stump;
The woodpecker, I am sticking fast,
Downward looking I look and hold myself."

The duck says, "I spread the ripples in my lake."

The very soul and thought of animal life seems to be conceived and expressed in the delicate Klamath language, and the same would seem to be the case in the Nez Perce, as their names all indicate the most profound sympathy with nature and animal life. Their languages are enormous in the number of words describing the kinds, and all the parts, and every phase, of natural life. Gatschet, indeed, says that the Indians thought of themselves as much more closely related to the animal than to each other, or other tribes. The other tribes seem to be, in most cases, described in degrading terms, as dog, or skunk, while the animals are idealized. It is well known that the Indians divide themselves by *totems*, or animal designations, being children of the Wolf, Bear, Coyote, etc.

However, the natural powers, having once been conceived as best illustrated under animal forms,

could not be made to stop there. Notably the Chinooks and Clatsops carried the development along. In their stories of giants and animals they were obliged to take on more and more human nature. The story tellers under the old names shrewdly aroused interest by describing personal characteristics. Thus in the story of Tsmptstsmpts and his four brothers, the Mink, who is the half-brother of the eldest, becomes the type of the shrewd and cunning chief, ever on the watch for the interests of his people. The Coyote, under his various names, is no less, in the later development of the stories, than the embodiment of craft, or wit, as against violence. The mother-in-law, who attempts to eat out the heart of her new son, first by attacking him from before, and next from behind, but being foiled in both attempts by the forethought of the young wife, who has her husband place grind stones over his heart, both before and behind, is manifestly a caricature of one popular nowhere, but still very useful in the world.

Under these old stories, which began as a poetic description of the operations of nature, therefore, in the course of time, the teachers of the people brought in criticisms and warnings of character and conduct, and undoubtedly political leaders made effective use of the same in illustrating points of policy. Out of these original myths grew therefore three lines of literary, or rather legendary development. One, as sketched above, the province of Æsop, tell-

ing stories of shrewd animals, in order to teach men to be shrewd; a second, the political use of the old myths, adopted by speakers to urge without offense certain lines of policy; and third the easy and natural use by the story tellers of the *totem* names to relate actual history. Gatschet finds a Klamath myth which is evidently merely an historical account of a fight between the Klamaths and a northern tribe. The story is of a grizzly and a wolf, the grizzly getting the worst of the bout. But the grizzly represented the Klamaths, and the wolf the northern tribe. This was an easy and natural way of telling history, and without discredit to the Klamaths themselves. It was very necessary for them to let their descendants know who could beat them, and yet not to break down the tribal pride. It was the indiscretion of the grizzly, then, not the wrong or weakness of the Klamaths, that was at fault. So in many other myths, the bearing of which we cannot discover, no doubt, the Indians were preserving history, but in a vague manner; yet their historical legends were in precisely the same form as those of the Greeks, whose earlier histories were accounts of the gods and their wars and conflicts, rather than of men. The early Assyrians and Egyptians also commemorated history under the guise of myth, and even as late as the Augustan age, the most popular Roman poet, revived the same manner. Moreover, the greatest of medieval poets, Dante, used the myths of Virgil as the dramatic framework of his master-

piece, and both Milton and Goethe used myth as dramatic machinery; and Byron and Shakespeare would have been at a loss without recourse to ghosts.

Besides these there was still another development of the myths. This was the teaching of the various rites and ceremonies, and laws and customs. These covered every department of life, and included all industrial rules, manual arts, and domestic arrangements, as well as government, religious rites, and political arrangements. These, by the Clatsops and Chinooks, at least, were all referred to Tallapus, and the stories of this being contained in full all the proper rules of life. Besides their Æsops, and Homers, therefore, the Indians had their Hesiods. In the broken and fragmentary stories that come to us, often told by those who understand English but very imperfectly, we probably get but a very weak idea of the real force and dignity of the conceptions and descriptions of the Indian myths.

THE TOMANIWUS.

All the Indian myths with their various degrees of development indicate a primitive people, but with much of the grandeur and simplicity of thought that we admire so much in the early peoples of Europe. We find them also in their religious development, or ideas, still primitive. They were still believers in all inanimate objects, as well as animals and persons,

being possessed of a spiritual self, or counterpart. There were spiritual sticks and stones and trees, and animals, and suns and moons. Each man, moreover, had his spiritual self. This in general was the *Tomaniwus*. The object might pass away, but the Tomaniwus still survived, and might embody itself anew. The person might die, but the Tomaniwus still live. The Indians therefore did not conceive of the dead as gone, but on the contrary they—some tribes at least—used a term in speaking of them meaning *present*, but never dared to speak the name of the dead, using a particular pronoun meaning it, or they.

The foundation of their belief in a spiritual counterpart to all things, was mental, rather than moral. It arose simply from an intellectual difficulty in conceiving objects. Thus, an Indian might see a stone; there before him was the object. He might then cast the stone away, and see it no more; but to his mind the stone would still be present. He could never eradicate the idea. He could account for this only on the supposition that there was a spiritual part as well as a material part. The material part could be made or destroyed, but the spiritual part was beyond reach. He found the same true in regard to all things. The flower would spring, and soon wither; but the idea of the flower would never pass. This he called the tomaniwus, and conceived that it belonged in all things; each having a tomaniwus.

He found many things in nature that seemed to confirm this manner of conception. All things had

shadows—the shadows being no doubt the half visible tomaniwus. There were echoes—echoes, no doubt, being the half audible tomaniwus of the things that made noises. The sun certainly had a tomaniwus, for when he set and fell into shadow, he sprang next morning as strong and bright as ever. How could this be unless there was a spiritual sun that lived while the material sun went down and died? Of the moon the same was true, only more remarkably so, since this body, besides sinking and rising night and day, also wasted at times, until at last completely disappearing for a number of days, but then returned. How could this be, unless there was a spirit of the moon, able to revive the material body after death? As to the sun in the lines from the Klamath myth, we have the direct statement that the morning star is the medicine, or Tomaniwus, of the sun.

As to human beings, man was no exception. He also had his tomaniwus. Man might be thought of while he still lived, and also after he was dead the thought returned. Hence while men were alive they were considered as in the body, and at a distance, or at some remove. But when they were dead, the tomaniwus only remained. They were then "present." This gave rise to numberless superstitions, as they may properly be termed. To speak the name of the dead was to invite death oneself. To see one's own tomaniwus was a sure sign of death. It was unsafe and to be avoided to look at one's own

shadow. It was long before the Indians dared have their pictures taken. It was thought that another might thus get possession of their tomaniwus. But as a recompense of these fears, the man of bold heart who killed others, was reinforced by the spirits of those he conquered, their tomaniwus, or medicine, being inferior to his own.

The conjuring, or shamanism, of the Indians, was all founded on this conception of a spiritual counterpart to all things and persons. Knowledge rested principally upon knowing, or seeing the spirits of things. The object seemed of much less importance than its spirit. He that knew the spirits of all things could certainly understand and control the objects themselves, which were but a fleeting and changing embodiment of the never passing spirit. To see the spirits, or tomaniwus, was then the object of the Tomaniwus man, or " medicine " man, as the term is very inadequately translated. In order to acquire this power, and to see the spirits, the Tomaniwus man proceeded in a manner just the contrary of ours. Instead of studying the objects, he studied dreams and induced dreams, or a hypnotic state by exercises and fastings, until all objects were present to his mind. He became a dreamer. Almost every tribe had a place of fasting and watching, usually a lonely spot in the mountains, or by a stream or lake, where the neophyte sat and fasted, until his spirit ceased to be conscious of its body, and all things became present to his mind; and the birds or other animals

conversed with him in intelligible language. He then possessed knowledge, and was able to tell events at a distance, or even to foretell events.

To what extent this hypnotic faculty may be cultivated, or how much value its possession may be, is still not determined, but undoubtedly the Indians carried the art to its full limits. One would say that the occult manner of knowing things is not the most accurate, or the most altruistic. It offers, moreover, but a very small basis for the development of knowledge from age to age.

The tomaniwus men were called " medicine " men, from their exorcism of the spirits of disease. A disease had a spirit, and that was the cause of the suffering. If the spirit could be destroyed, the disease would cease. Some of the tomaniwus songs are those of diseases. The spirits of certain birds seem also to cause disease. It was in order for the Medicine man to see the spirit that caused the disorder, and extract it, either by sucking or drawing it out. To the eye of the Medicine man the interior of the body was transparent, and he could see the diseases in the vitals or in the joints. A Clatsop woman, having a very bad disease, is mentioned, from whom it was extracted only with the greatest effort, eluding the hands of the conjuror, and slipping here and there. When finally forced through her side, so powerful was it that it instantly caused the arms of the Medicine man to fly up, and they could be brought down only by the strength of four men, in order that it

might be forced into a tub of water, where it was drowned at last. This disease was described as looking very much like a piece of melted glass, run through and through with horse hair.

A Chehalis Medicine man is mentioned who followed a dancing stick, which was held by a young man, but danced with him all over the floor, so violently as to cover his hands with blisters and blood; with the spirit of this stick the conjuror went to the land of the dead, finding there the spirit of the woman —who of course could not be brought back.

The Indians also foretold events by the flight of birds and the actions of animals; the weather was indicated by certain rain flowers, or the agitation of rain waters, and by the changes of the sky. They had many sacred lakes, or streams, or skookum waters. Their entire round of ideas and course of thought had more to do with the world of spirits, or ideas, than of actual fact. This may probably all be referred to their primitive conception of all things as consisting of both a body and spirit, the latter being the more important, and most present to the mind. This is a truly difficult point in metaphysics, being in a certain way at the root of Plato's discussion of the doctrine of ideas, and of the disputes of the nominalists and realists of the middle ages. In modern thinking we have simply given up the question, and learn of the qualities of things, and gain ideas, by practical experience with the things. We find that our ideas of things depend upon ourselves,

and change according to practical experience. What the things are in their essence and purpose, we refer to one great controlling mind.

The above will be sufficient to indicate at about what degree of development the Indian had arrived —being in a state of mind found among the European peoples not less than three thousand years ago. How they would receive the impact of modern ideas, representing an experience gained since the days of Abraham and Homer, and what of their own primitive experience and conceptions, or how much of their own life and blood would enter and commingle with the advancing white race, are questions to be answered as the events progressed.

Space forbids any longer delay with the many numerous questions that arise here, and little description of archæological remains may be given. Further study must be found in connection with the various discoveries and expeditions made by white men.

As to the length of time of the Indian in Oregon, we may say with Gatschet, "many hundreds of generations." There is no sign of any prior race here, and if these Indians are all of one stock a length of time sufficient for them to have developed entirely distinct languages, must be allowed. Kitchen middens along the coast, or shell heaps where Indians have camped year after year indicate a long period of occupation. The Indians should be regarded, we think, as a slowly progressing race, but in numbers they were so few compared with the extent of the

continent, as to have gained very small control of nature. For the same reason they had become so far dispersed as to form no large political bodies, but every band or part of a band not agreeing with the rest might move on, preferably going eastward, and about the only prevailing and controlling idea, or passion, would be love of liberty.

CHAPTER V

Indian Traditions of the First White Men

HAVING thus taken a glance at Oregon as formed by nature, and having seen that this great land had been by gradual and successive geological changes isolated from all intercourse with the eastern or Atlantic side, the chain of inland seas or lakes having been elevated and dried and becoming deserts, so that the drift of population was ever eastward rather than westward, and having seen that in consequence Oregon became settled first from across the Pacific, and at the times first known to us, was sparsely peopled by tribes as yet not fully fixed, though roaming within certain limits, we may be able to take up with better understanding the progress of events when the European civilization did at last break the barriers and overflow into the basin of the Columbia, or first circled into the waters of the Pacific. We are prepared to think of Oregon as occupied by a race of men on the whole deserving the title of the "Noble Red Man" —a simple and primitive people in many ways, but thoroughly human, and able to give whatever they had to their white brothers who might come.

We shall be prepared to bear in mind also that owing to the delay of discovery about two centuries of civilization were allowed to pass, and quite a different state of the world grew up after the Atlantic side of America was settled before Oregon was occupied. The Oregon Indians had themselves been making some progress during that time. Oregon

therefore came late into the arena of the world's historical movements. To what power, or to what people and form of government it should be given was therefore a matter held in reserve until long after the other parts of America, both North and South, had been apportioned to the European states.

But before taking up the records of European adventurers or discoverers, we must inquire whether any legends or evidences of white men's reaching Oregon, are found among the Oregon Indians. Not until recently have any such traces of discovery been found, or perhaps looked for. But as interest in the history of Oregon has increased a gentleman living near the mouth of the Columbia, and who bears a peculiar relationship to both the Indian tribes and to the early settlement of Oregon, took up the matter, and has found some very interesting traditional history in regard to the first appearances of white men among the Indians. This gentleman was the late Silas B. Smith, whose mother was Celiast, the daughter of the Indian chief Kobaiway, of the Clatsops, and whose father was Hon. Solomon H. Smith, who came with Nathaniel J. Wyeth to Oregon in 1832.

The appearances of white men were near the mouth of the Columbia, or within thirty miles of this great river. Nothing could illustrate better than this perhaps that the Columbia, especially at its mouth, has been the historic scene of the most that relates to Oregon. If there ever were other appearances of

white men at other points all legends or traces of them seem to have been lost.

In order to understand the place and the condition that any castaway white men might find, we will first describe somewhat more in detail the shore in this region. The Columbia for the last thirty miles of its course widens to an estuary, some five to ten miles across. On the north side as it passes into the ocean, its flow is directed by the bold points of Cape Disappointment, rising about 400 feet above the waves and conspicuous far to seaward.

By this fixed highland the waters of the Columbia, discharging into the ocean, are deflected southward, and have formed a peninsula, composed almost wholly of sands, now blown up into dunes, comprising a country two or three miles across, and about twenty miles long. This peninsula was the land of the Clatsop Indians, and derived its name from them. It is still a charming country, consisting largely of open rolling plains, diversified with woodlands, intersected by tidewater streams, and upon the side next the wooded hills, expanded to mossy cranberry marshes, embosomed in which are lily-padded lakes and ponds. It was an ideal place for a wild people, having both a slope towards the Columbia River, and a broad ocean frontage. In its original state it was much more pleasant than at present, being then thoroughly covered with sod and sward to the sea beach, and gorgeous almost the entire year with successive flowering plants. The Clatsop Indians had several

villages, one looking north toward the bar called Ne-Ahkstow; another about half way down the plains on the ocean side, at the mouth of a small stream, Neahkowin; and still another farther south, in the bight of another stream, Neah-Coxie.

On the south of the country of the Clatsops rose the mass of Tillamook head, forming several promontories, and attaining a height of over one thousand feet. Southward lay the country of the Tillamooks, the most prominent mountain of the coast being Nekahni,* which rises with a bold bluff, or precipice some 400 feet, and above that attains a height of about two thousand feet. On the south of Nekahni is an arenaceous region, through which the small river Nehalem forces a channel to the sea. The mountain is noted among the Clatsops as the home of the first god, and also as having been struck off to its present form with a blow of the knife, or hatchet, of Tallapus.

Three appearances of white men are described. A point near the mouth of the Columbia is the scene of one; the sides of Necahnie mountain of another, and the mouth of the Nehalem, of the other. The incident at Necahnie Mountain has been spoken of as the coming of the treasure ship. This is probably the least important of the three. According to the tradition of the Indians a ship appeared in the offing at that place, and coming to, dropped a boat, which was then rowed ashore. A box, or chest, was carried by the

* Commonly called Mt. Carney.

men, who made a landing and ascended the mountain side. A hole was then dug, into which they lowered the chest, and a man being killed, as some say, both the chest and the body of the man were buried together. The killing of the man is uncertain, as the word used for a dead body is also applied to a crucifix. It is a mere inference also that the box, or chest, contained treasure. If a man were killed, however, the latter is a reasonable inference, as the Indians would not dare to rifle a grave. After the chest, with the body, or the crucifix, as the case might have been, was buried, characters were cut on the face of the rock, and the unknown adventurers returned in the boat to the ship, which soon sailed away. Persistent search has been made for this treasure, parties even from the eastern states having looked for it. It was on the southwest side that it was buried, and if ever deposited there it is probable that the edge of the cliff has long since been washed into the sea by the constant erosion. The Indian tradition points to an undoubted landing, but at what time is not indicated; it was probably not very long before the white men's recorded discoveries.

The second appearance of white men, mentioned by Mr. Smith, was just north of the mouth of the Nehalem River, also not far from Necahnie Mountain. The Indians state that a ship of the white men was driven ashore here, and wrecked. The crew, however, survived, and reaching land, lived for some time with the natives. A large part of the vessel's cargo

was beeswax. But in the course of several months the white men became obnoxious to the Indians on account of violating their marital relations. The whites were consequently killed, but fought to defend themselves, using slung shot. As Mr. Smith notes, this would indicate that they had lost their arms and ammunition. The beeswax has been found from time to time, drifted at some distance along the beach. The greater portion, however, has been covered over with sand to a considerable depth, and lies at an old beach, several feet above the present. Mr. Smith does not think it necessary to suppose that it was brought to its present location—or where the greater part has been discovered—by the action of the waves, but probably by the sailors who thus attempted to save the cargo. By some mineralogists the material has been pronounced not beeswax, but the paraffine produced in nature, from the products of coal, or petroleum. But the true beeswax of the material seems well proven by the fact that it occurs in cakes of considerable size, weighing ten pounds or so, each, and marked with the monogram I. H. S. Tapers also, of large size, some without the wicks, but some also with them, are found among the rest. This still might possibly not prove the animal origin, as the wax might have been taken originally from some European mineral deposit; but the presence of a bee, as is stated, in some of the wax, would nearly settle the question.

Nevertheless the point of particular interest is not

the animal or mineral origin of the material, but that it came to its present location by the act of white men—as no others would mould the letters characteristic of the Catholic faith upon the cakes. The conjecture of Mr. Smith that it was a supply vessel from Mexico for some mission in California, carried out of her course, and finally wrecked upon the Oregon coast, is probably the true explanation. The further conjecture that it was the ship "San Jose," which left La Paz, Lower California, June 16, 1769, loaded with mission supplies for San Diego, Upper California, and was never again heard from, may also prove correct.

It is not known that any permanent advantage or influence was left with the Indians by the wreck of this beeswax ship. An entertaining story has been told that one of the survivors of the wreck, who had blue eyes and golden hair, became the husband of a Nehalem woman, and that he was the father or grandfather of a blue-eyed and freckled-faced Indian, of the family to which a somewhat noted chief, who occupied a beautiful spot on the banks of a lake afterwards called for him Quaiculliby, or Culliby, belonged. A blonde Indian is mentioned by Lewis and Clark, but in 1805 sufficient intercourse with whites had been established to account for such an occurrence without recourse to the event of the year 1769—if the lost ship were truly the " San Jose."

The scene of the third appearance of white men mentioned by Mr. Smith, but probably first in order

of time, was about two miles south of the mouth of the Columbia. This bears upon the face of the Indians' narrative, the evidence of being the very first coming of the white men remembered by the Oregon Indians. According to some of the accounts the ship was sighted during an afternoon in strawberry time, and watched with superstitious interest, the Clatsops thinking it possible that this was a reappearance of Tallapus. During the night, however, whether or not that be an imaginative introduction, the ship came ashore, and in the morning a woman living on the weather side of the plains, was startled by the appearance of a person, in garb singular to her, and with a long beard flowing down upon his breast. The wreck was lying in the breakers, and two men were on the beach, having built a fire there among the driftwood, and were roasting pop corn; and they made signs to her for water. She was much startled by their appearance, and went to the village for help, wailing out as she went, "I have found people who are men, and who yet are bears." The Clatsops going together to the place were astonished at the sight of the white men, and even more so at the food they were cooking—the corn popping in the coals being down to the present day one of the most exciting episodes of the narrative. It is said, too, that the chief was not fully satisfied that these were really men until he had carefully examined their hands, and found they agreed perfectly with his own.*

* See story of Charlie Cultee in *Franz Boas*, in Addenda to Vol. I.

" From the manner of the coming of these castaways," says Mr. Smith, " the Clatsops and Chinooks named all white persons without respect to nationality, ' Tlo-hon-nipts,' that is, ' Of those who drifted ashore.' " This would indicate beyond all doubt that this was the first seen of white men by Indians.

The two whites were claimed as slaves, and after the ship, which at low tide could be reached from the land, was ransacked and looted, it was discovered that one of the men was able to make knives from the iron; and the ship was then burned to obtain the iron. The name of the iron worker, as rendered by the Indians, was Konapee. He and his companion were at first compelled to labor incessantly, but in the course of time were held in high favor and given their liberty. Being allowed to select a site, Konapee came around to the Columbia River side of the peninsula and built a house of his own. This place was called by the Indians " Konapee " long after his departure, and, indeed, down to the times of white settlement or later. Among other articles brought by Konapee were a number of Chinese cash, which were kept among the Indians, and called " Konapee's money." By some it has been supposed the vessel wrecked here was a Japanese or Chinese junk, drifted across the ocean and lost. But this supposition is unnecessary, as the Spaniards had early established trading relations with the Philippines and Chinese ports, and a vessel returning would be almost

certain to have an abundance of Chinese cash. On the other hand a Japanese or Chinese junk would not have men with beards, nor by any possibility have Indian corn, as a ship from Mexico might easily have a supply left over.

Bearing out still further the idea that this was a Spanish ship is the reference by Gabriel Franchere* in 1814 to meeting an old man at the Cascades, whose name was Soto, and the son of a Spaniard, who was one of four wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia. While the number is not the same, the Indians stating two, and Soto stating four, the other circumstances are so alike that it is more than probable that the father of Soto was Konapee—Konapee having later attempted, as is also said by the Indians, to reach the land of the sunrise, and going from the mouth of the Columbia to the Cascades and marrying there an Indian woman. A daughter of Konapee, or Soto, is also mentioned by Mr. Smith, she being an old woman in about 1830, when seen by Mr. Smith's mother. Calculating the age of Soto at about eighty, that given by Franchere in 1811, it would appear that Konapee was drifted upon the coast of Oregon in about the year 1725, or about a century after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock.

It would thus seem quite certain that the Columbia was first seen by Spaniards, but it was not " discovered "—that is, the fact of this event was never

* See *Franchere*, in Addenda to Vol. I.

made known to the civilized world, and no benefit to civilization resulted. However, while Konapee, who may have been a man of intelligence, and whose life on the lordly Columbia may have been one of the great romances of the world, as it certainly could not have been otherwise had he understood that he was actually in possession of the greatest geographical secret of the age, was destined to spend his days with the savages, never to return to his native land, we can trace very important results from his accidental landing at the Columbia. From him the Clatsops and Chinooks, and probably many other tribes learned the fact that there were white men, and the knowledge seemed to be pretty generally spread that on the salt water to the west there were men with beards sailing ships. The impression gained of Konapee in regard to white men was one of dignity, and generally favorable. Most of all, through him they learned the use of iron—one of the great inventions of the world's history, which introduced to the Oregon Indians a new industrial age. One of the very noticeable facts mentioned by Cook in his observations of the Indians along the coast was that they showed no surprise at the sight of iron implements or weapons. He was somewhat puzzled to account for their acquaintance with this metal. It was perhaps Konapee first of all who introduced iron among the people of the Pacific northwest coast.

The effect of this upon the disposition and the

progress of the Columbia River Indians might have been very marked. The desire for iron would lead to a desire to see more of the white men's ships, and to consider the white men as friends. They would naturally learn from Konapee that the whites would trade them iron for any valuables, such as food or clothing. They would also form a very respectful opinion of the white men, as persons of unusual power, and gradually gain the idea that it was not only humane but wise to treat any that came among them with great circumspection. Whether or not this disposition dated entirely from Konapee, at all events, we find it pre-eminently marked in this tribe. All the whites ever visiting the Columbia, except on one or two occasions, and then for special reasons, were treated with perfect friendliness and consideration, and without fear or surprise, by the Chinooks and Clatsops. They were ready from the first to trade, and the one article inquired for was iron. The love of beads and blankets and looking glasses and other trinkets was fostered later.

The immediate effect of Konapee's residence and work among the Clatsops may have been considerable to increase the power of that tribe. We find that the father of Kobaiway, the latter being chief at the time of Lewis and Clark's visit, became one of the greatest of the chiefs of the coast country, having sufficient wealth to support twenty wives, and to thus form alliances with many different tribes. As each wife had a number of slaves, and as the Clatsop

chief must keep an efficient guard for his numerous household, it appears that his own personal family was very large. Quite a portion of his wealth may have been derived from the skill of his artisans who shaped iron into knives, which probably sold for fabulous prices among the interior tribes.

Kobaiway, the successor of this rich chief, was also himself a powerful ruler. One of the few historical stories of an Indian, coming down without mythical ornamentations, is told of this afterward famous Clatsop. He once went to the Upper Cascades to trade, proceeding in a large canoe and having quite a body of servants to carry his purchases. Having made these satisfactorily, which were so numerous as to load all his men, he was returning by the narrow path, from the Upper to the Lower Cascades, when he was set upon by the tribe at this point. They were friends under strict treaty, but their desire of plunder had overcome their scruples, and they determined to attack and destroy the Clatsop and his band, not leaving one to tell the tale. Kobaiway himself was in the lead, having in each hand a large cup, of great value to the Indians, made of the horns of the Rocky Mountain sheep. With these he instantly felled the two Cascades Indians who attacked him, and plunged into the woods and made his escape. Pursuing his way secretly at night, and hiding by day, he came at length to an open country. This was probably in the neighborhood of Washougal. Early in the morning of a foggy, or smoky day, he ventured near the

shore, and heard the beating of paddles, the signals being of a war canoe, and the paddles at intervals being struck upon the sounding sides of the craft. He then distinguished the voices of men chanting the death wail of a chief, and soon recognized the voices and wailing of his own people. This was a war party of the Clatsops searching for their chief whom they supposed to be dead. He hailed them and was received by his people with great rejoicing.

Returning to Clatsop Kobaiway made up a very strong party, being under obligation by the customs and laws of his people to punish treachery; and making his way to the Cascades, fell upon the village of the Cascades, surrounding them at night and attacking at daybreak, almost annihilated the tribe. This probably greatly extended the influence of the lower Columbia Indians on the upper Columbia, and did much to make the Columbia and especially its portages at the Cascades and the Dalles neutral ground for all the tribes. This was greatly in the interest of all the explorers and traders who came afterwards, and prepared the way for the whites who crossed the continent. If the feeble bands of the first explorers had met opposition at these points they might never have returned to tell the tale of their discoveries. Much is to be credited to the Clatsops and Chinooks for their vigorous influence on the Columbia, and some of this perhaps is due to Konapee and his iron knives.

We also gain the impression that a considerable

trade between the Indians of the mouth of the river and the interior tribes was setting in; the upper river Indians fetching wild flax, camas, flints, horns, *cheupp*, and skins, while in exchange the Coast Indians brought up to the trading places shells, which were the original money, and now bits of iron manufacture, and as the white traders appeared, the various trinkets of a barbarous taste. The greatest benefits of all this trade went first to the Chinooks and Clatsops.

CHAPTER VI

Energy of Spanish Discoverers

COLUMBUS first saw San Salvador in October of 1492. Six years later he saw the mouth of the Orinoco, satisfying himself that here was the coast of a continent. Fifteen years later Balboa climbed the tree on the Isthmus of Darien and looked first with European eyes, so far as recorded in history, upon the expanse of the South Sea, or Pacific. Only six years later, or 1519, Cortes, a sickly and little known youth, having first gained some distinction in the West Indies for his severity in working the natives in the mines, landed at Vera Cruz, with a few hundred soldiers, but ready to tempt fortune in whatever region, or among whatever tribes. Two years later he had conquered Mexico, and impressed upon it the Spanish sovereignty and the language, and even the religion, which have dominated to the present day. At about the same time, 1520, Magellan (Magahaelens) started in command of five Spanish ships, for a cruise that lasted 533 days, putting in irons, leaving upon the Patagonian coast refractory Spanish subordinates who had no mind to obey a Portuguese; doubling South America, sailing through the lonely southern Pacific, which, however, treated him so mildly as to earn its present name; discovering Samar of the Philippine group, but perishing at Mactan. In 1530 Pizarro forced his way into Peru, and found another Mexico, or rather an empire so much richer than Mexico as to turn Cortes green with jealousy, and give the Captain General an

unconquerable thirst for more islands to plunder. In 1542 De Soto, following in the steps of Narvaez, traversed Florida and Alabama, and penetrating northward and westward, in the hope of another Peru, such as he had seen with Pizarro, circled the present Southern States as far as Arkansas, and found, as his final goal, the Mississippi River, on which he died, and in whose waters it was necessary to sink his body, to be safe from the indignities of the Indians, whose tribes he had ravaged along his entire route. Within just half a century, therefore, the Spaniards, with the most miserable equipments, had overrun the greater portion of North America up to the fortieth degree, had conquered the best part of South America, and had sailed around the world—pushing their discoveries westward beyond the Papal allowance, indeed, and gaining territory west of the 180th degree.

Columbus was one of the great minds of the world, willing to perform any labor to satisfy his own ideal cravings. He only used as means the arguments that he found weighty among practical men. It was neither trade nor wealth that influenced his actions, and the large conceptions of the Italian Republics, to which he belonged, is manifest in all his movements. It was to discover the secret of the sea, as Galileo had pondered over that of the stars, or Toricelli over that of the air, or Michael Angelo over that of the physical frame, that Columbus spent his fortune in preparations to cross the Atlantic, and



CARTA MARINA, 1548

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completed his work only with the end of a long life. But the men that followed Columbus had little share in his motives. We are alternately struck with their courage, and shocked at their greed and cruelty. This, however, was not the first, nor indeed the last, time that a great ideal man has opened the gates to a flood of coarse adventurers. We can hardly understand how the thirst for gold tinged all the ideas and conceptions of the Spanish conquerors of America. They made the cross, which they were too superstitious to discard, but the servant of the sword, and the war cry for rapacity. Eager as the priesthood of the time showed itself for Christian converts, the priests were shocked at the cruelties of the conquerors in extracting gold from the stores of the native kings and princes, but protested in vain.

We shall not understand this except as we consider that the conquest of America was in response to an economic need of the world. The world's stock of gold had run low. The European nations, having first been taught by the Roman Empire to regard the precious metals as the only true and real money —though the schoolmen had the saying of Aristotle that money exists not by nature, but by law—had by the beginning of the fifteenth century or earlier, reached a point when, on account of debased money, credit money—or discredited money—and lack of money, honest exchange had become nearly impossible. The total stock of gold of the world, available at that time in Europe, is estimated at but little over

$150,000,000. This reduction was due to the conquest by the Saracens of the old gold producing countries whence Rome derived her supply, and the diversion of East Indian trade to the eastern centers. Venice almost alone of the European states failed to suffer, as she introduced a substantial system of credits. This the other states could not do, or feared to do, and exchange and trade were reduced to the lowest point. The results of this economic condition became very marked. The wars of Ferdinand, in expelling three million Moors from his realm, and expatriating many thousands of Jews, and indeed in establishing the inquisition, received their greatest incentive in the desire to gain possession of stores of precious metals. The one great scientific, or chemical question, of the age was how to transmute base metals into gold. The necessities of the Pope, in carrying on his great plans for building St. Peter's cathedral, which is said to have cost eighty million dollars, led to measures for getting the supply which in turn led directly to the Protestant revolution. The first response then of the new world to the old, was to answer to the desperate economic need of Europe. The moment that it was known that there was gold in the new possessions, all Spain was wild, and the wildest and most insatiable of the Spaniards resorted thither to slake their thirst.

The philosophers' stone was found in America; great stores of gold were found with the natives, or both gold and silver in fabulously rich mines. The

ransom paid by the Peruvian to Pizarro for release of their Inca is reckoned as worth $15,000,000. This, at one stroke, would dazzle even gold seekers of the Rand, or of the Klondike. The result in Europe was very soon manifest. Spain leaped to the front rank, and in but a short time we find the king of Spain the emperor of Germany.

It will be necessary to remember the above facts, in order to understand the bearing of Spanish discovery upon our States of the old Oregon country. With such immense energy as was shown by the Spaniards in America, and seeing that they have impressed their language, laws, and religion upon America from the gulfs of Mexico and California to Cape Horn, and have practically made more than half the new world Spanish America, we must trace carefully the reasons why they fell short of Oregon. The Spaniards desired all that they could get. At any time after the conquest of Mexico and Peru they could command both men and money for any expeditions they might wish to send out. Charles Fifth united the power of both Spain and Germany, and no European state dared resist his shrewd combinations. Moreover the Spanish map-makers and story tellers made the plainest and most easy water routes directly from the gulf of Mexico to Oregon. Their conception of North America, taken quite largely from what they actually found in the West Indies, was that it was a vast archipelago, with most desirable straits and sounds, and spacious and beautiful

havens, offering free navigation to the Indies and Cathay. It is worthy of curious note that their early maps of what they imagined North America to be, were not very different in conception from what the Rocky Mountain country and Oregon actually were in old geologic times. Prior to the Jurassic period the Gulf of Mexico might have been found extending to St. Louis, with great lakes or gulfs into Minnesota; arms, at least, of the Pacific Ocean would have been found reaching as far eastward as Nebraska; Oregon itself would have been a region of sounds and islands. But nature herself had now changed this. What was then "low" North America had become "high." Nature had now made it impossible for Cortes or De Soto to sail from the West Indies to Oregon, as they most undoubtedly would have done if the primitive seas had been left open.

Fernando Cortes was a man much like Lord Clive, who subdued India—a character such as almost invariably springs up in times of great change and pecuniary chances, and before the energy of a long starved but active people has become sated. He had hardly well established his government over Mexico before he began to plan much further and greater enterprises. He despatched explorers to the southward, examining the country until fully satisfied that there were no straits leading from the Gulf or the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean. In 1526 he began building ships on the Pacific side and sent two of these across the Pacific Ocean to assist the Span-

iards in their contests with the Portuguese for possession of the Moluccas and the harbor of Macao near Canton. The pope had divided the world between the king of Spain and the king of Portugal, and already the two were contending by bloody war for the mastery.

But while seeing the vital importance of making connection with the mainland of Asia for an open port—as at that time states held ports strictly for their own accommodation—Cortes had even greater personal plans of his own. He must be credited with a very wide scope of forethought, and his energies lay hold at one stroke, or at simultaneous strokes, of the three vital courses that the Spaniards must pursue; the first being, as just stated, to seize and maintain a port on the mainland of Asia, on the Chinese coast; the second to uphold and further the progress of Spanish conquest southward, down the South American coast; and the third to push his discoveries and conquests to the northward. This set forth at the beginning the sum of Spanish policy, which was to make the Pacific Ocean and all its islands and shores the exclusive possession of Spain. This policy lasted practically three hundred years, from 1525, as laid out by Cortes, to 1819, when Spain formally surrendered a part of her title to the United States.

With the active prosecution of these schemes in mind, and how to make them serve his own elevation —which was ever uppermost with him—Cortes built

some ships on the Pacific and sent them exploring up the Mexican Coast, under command of Pedro Nunez Maldonado. This expedition left the mouth of the Zacatula in July 1 of 1528, and proceeded along the coast northward but about three hundred miles, along the coast of a country called Xalisco. The natives were found savage and unsubdued, but the land fertile, and the interior was thought to be rich in precious metals.

But though thus energetic to press before all others his discoveries northward Cortes would not leave to chance the results that might accrue, and while Maldonado was buffeting the waves of the Pacific he himself set out for Spain, bringing the reports of the magnificent triumphs of Spanish arms, and being accorded a most flattering reception. By Charles, the celebrated emperor of Germany as well as king of Spain, he was royally treated, and given great titles and even greater privileges. The country he had conquered was called New Spain, and of this Cortes was made Captain-General; he was also created a grandee of Castile, and styled Marquis of Oaxaca, having under this title vast estates of his own, among which was the port of Tehuantepec. Of even more importance was the right given him to discover any islands, or any region not in conflict with the grants to other governors, and to have one-twelfth of the precious metals or output of mines discovered for himself and family after him. With these immense grants Charles was careful to make



FERNANDO CORTES

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him responsible to the Audiencia at Mexico—composed of Cortes's personal enemies. The course of conquest and discovery was therefore made almost necessarily but a tangle of quarrels between capable and jealous governors, accentuated according as each believed that nations even greater than the Mexicans or Peruvians lived to the north.

Cortes himself was sanguine that there were great and wealthy kingdoms to the north or west, and within less than ten years fitted out four expeditions, himself leading the most important. The next after Maldonado's was under Hurtado de Mendoza, of two vessels, in 1532. This was overtaken by misfortunes —mutiny, a retreat, attack by natives, and finally the ship in distress and barely reaching the Mexican Coast, but to be captured by the chief rival of Cortes —Nuno de Guzman. The third expedition was under Hernando Grijalva and Diego Becerra—both very capable captains. Grijalva discovered a group of islands off the Mexican Coast, but Becerra's crew became mutinous, and he was killed by the pilot, Ximines; but Ximines himself and twenty of the crew were also killed upon a point of land that they discovered directly west of Mexico—the tip of Lower California, which was considered an island. The few survivors and the ship fell into the hands of Guzman.

Nothing daunted, however, by the misfortunes of his ships or the opposition of his enemy, Cortes gathered up a land force and built three ships, and

set off for the supposed island discovered by Ximines. Making a landing at a bay, which he called Vera Cruz, supposed to be the same as later called La Paz, Cortes took possession of the country in the name of his Spanish sovereign, supposing it to be another Mexico. It was in fact merely the barren peninsula of Lower California, and here the conqueror wasted his forces for nearly a year in fruitless wanderings, while his enemies were effectively undermining his authority in Mexico. For a time his efforts for another expedition were thwarted and he sent his ships to assist Pizarro in Peru. But in 1539 he despatched his last expedition, which sailed under command of Francisco de Ulloa, and by it the gulf of California was explored its entire length and Lower California was found to be a peninsula. Ulloa also doubling Cape St. Lucas examined the outer coast and discovered the island of Cedars, which afterwards became of importance to the Spaniards.

But while Cortes was meeting with slow success in the exploration of the coast reports were received of great nations on the mainland to the northward, which excited the governor of Mexico and other leaders to fresh exertions. The reports were brought first into Mexico by an adventurer who had wandered from Florida, where he had gone with Narvaez, to a town at the entrance of the gulf of California on the Pacific. This man, whose name was Cabeza-Vaca, had spent nine years, with two Spaniards and a Moor, in crossing the continent, and declared that great

peoples dwelt to the north. Mendoza, the governor of Mexico, was preparing a military expedition to follow up these reports, but was persuaded by Las Casas, a truly pious man, who was sickened by the bloodshed of his countrymen, to intrust the expedition to two priests, who could conduct the exploration quietly, see all that was to be found, and return without either antagonizing or alarming the natives. Two friars were accordingly sent, and in due time returned with such glowing accounts as to make all the governors jealous to control the conquest of the new lands. Friar Marcos reported that he had entered cities built of stone, with four-story houses; and that Cibola, the city which he visited, was but one of seven, the greatest being Totonteac. Mendoza, Guzman, Alvarado, and Cortes, and even De Soto, who had not yet started upon his own disastrous tour, quarreled to have the lead, Cortes at last being forced back, and quitting Mexico.

The difficulty was finally settled, and an exploring expedition was conducted into Arizona and New Mexico, and finally into the buffalo country of Colorado; but no rich or powerful cities were found. The Spaniards were pleased at times with the delightful climate, or with some fertile valley, and besought their leaders to stop and settle. But for men looking for vast countries to conquer the southern Rocky Mountain region had no attractions. The natives were found to be very astute, giving information of wonderful cities or powerful princes further

on, but it finally became apparent that this was for the purpose of urging the explorers out of their own country. At length both expeditions, one under Alarcon, by ship, and the Colorado River, and the other under Coronado, entirely by land, although having had the wealth of Arizona and Colorado under their feet, returned with the conclusion that the rumors of Cabeza and the reports of Marcos were alike gross exaggerations. They had discovered, however, that there was no waterway across the continent of North America to the south of latitude forty. It is significant that this marked the northern limit of Spanish exploration by land. The last "king" they went to see was one Tatarrax, an old man, who worshiped a cross of gold, as reported by the natives, but had actually nothing more valuable than a copper piece hanging about his neck. The last ripple of Spanish exploration northward by land here died on the Rocky Mountains of Colorado.

On the ocean, however, it was thought advisable to continue exploration, and in 1542, while De Soto was finding the Mississippi, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo reached as high a latitude as thirty-eight degrees, a little north of San Francisco Bay. Returning as far as the Santa Barbara Islands, he there, already reduced by sickness, died; and his pilot, Ferrelo, turned north once more, passing Cape Mendocino; and possibly reached a point off the Oregon coast.

CHAPTER VII

The Spanish in the Pacific

THE governors of Mexico, however, now began to realize that their greater interests lay in making the route to the Indies secure, and establishing their authority and commerce with China. The dreams of Cortes, to which the inventions, or exaggerations of Friar Marcos were well suited, and which show how keen an observer of Spanish character was Cervantes, and that many Don Quixotes came to America, were given up as mythical, and all their energies were turned against the Portuguese in India. The result was in the end a complete triumph, and for two and a half centuries Spain became mistress of the greatest ocean of the world.

The final success was not attained without preliminary failure—the third attempt, however, carrying the charm. The expedition of Loyosa from Spain, in 1525, to which Cortes sent two ships, with the object of taking the Philippine Islands, proved a disaster. The second under Ruy Lopez de Villabos, who crossed the ocean from Mexico with a large squadron, also turned out badly—his forces being dispersed after he had formally taken possession of the islands. But in 1564, after forty years of effort, Miguel de Legazpi, from Mexico, subjugated the coveted archipelago, and established an authority which continued to the days of Dewey. But probably more valuable than the conquest, or at least making the conquest practically valuable, was the discovery of a Friar in the squadron of Legazpi. This was one

Urdanata, well known as a skillful navigator, and by careful observations he found the true courses of the winds in the Pacific. Sailing west was easy and comparatively expeditious, the trade winds blowing constantly from the northeast; but to return was almost beyond endurance. Urdanata, however, surmised that toward the north the winds would be variable, and with a boldness reminding one of Columbus, proved his theory, running north to the fortieth degree and then sailing east to the coast of California, where the northwest winds of summer, blowing constantly, soon took the vessels down to Mexico.

These great results led at once to establishing commerce between Mexico and Asia. Acapulco became the chief port on the American side, and Manila, in the Philippines, and Macao, in China, on the Asiatic. The voyage from America consumed about three months, and the return was much longer. Large vessels, called galleons, were constructed for freighting, and there was little danger from storm, and none at all from formidable enemies. The Portuguese were effectually checked, and no other European nation at that early day had a thought of entering the Pacific. The Spaniards of both Mexico and South America had an unlimited supply of gold and silver, with which they purchased the fabrics and wares of China, which were in great demand by the rich Americans, or Spanish in America, and also were largely transported across the country and exported to Spain. These were silks, spices and porcelains, a



THE NANCY GLOBE

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traffic which had made Venice great, and which had later enriched the Portuguese.

The wealth of Spain was prodigiously increased, and her power in Europe augmented, so that although often humiliated by her own blunders, she remained paramount for many years. Rightly understanding that the greatest source of her power was in the possession of America and an unlimited use and control of the Pacific, or South Sea, she speedily laid down a policy that would insure to herself these advantages for all time. The New World was to be ruled by Spain strictly in the interest of Spain. One fear, even from the first exploits of Cortes, was that so many Spaniards would go to the New World, and become so powerful that they would ultimately cast off the Spanish authority—a very just fear. To provide against this no Spaniard was allowed to emigrate from Spain to the New World without express permission of the king. Only favorites, or men of compliant disposition, were thus permitted to settle, and these in numbers small enough to make it necessary to depend on Spain. As for foreigners, they were absolutely forbidden in the Spanish possessions, and treated as bandits if found there. Navigation of the Spanish waters was forbidden to foreigners, who, if found upon them, were accounted pirates. Discoveries could not be carried on without permission; no article that could be imported from Spain was allowed to be manufactured in America; no commerce could be carried on except in

vessels belonging to the government, or licensed by it. This was the extreme of the universal theory of European nations at that time, that colonies existed for the exclusive benefit of the mother country. England fell subsequently into the same policy, and this is probably inevitable in any strictly colonial system, where the principle of Home Rule is not admitted.

The splendid achievements of the Spaniards across the Pacific, and speedy erection of a power in Mexico that became the rival of Spain herself, called all serious attention from the northern coast for many years. This was universally regarded as an inhospitable country, devoid of wealth, and not worthy of exploration. Nevertheless it was at length forced upon Spanish attention as a possible point of danger. The more valuable that the Pacific, or South Sea, became to the Spaniards, the more they saw the necessity of guarding it against incursions of other nations. A project for a canal across the Isthmus of Darien was brought to the attention of Philip the Second, and was instantly discarded. Indeed, "his majesty decreed that no one should in future attempt, or even propose, such an undertaking, under pain of death," as the geographer, Alcedo, narrates. Actual incursions, moreover, were made in the latter part of the century, by way of Cape Horn, the English taking the lead, though followed by Dutch buccaneers, of whom details will be mentioned in a succeeding chapter; and it began to be feared that there might yet be a passage around North America, which would

furnish a route into the Pacific. The necessity of finding and fortifying it, if it existed, became apparent.

Late in the sixteenth century these dangers, and also certain fictitious, or apochryphal accounts of the northern passages, were brought to the attention of Philip II, a most morose and suspicious monarch. Torquemada, the Spanish historian, thus tells of the result: "His majesty knew that the viceroys of Mexico had endeavoured to discover a northern passage; and he had found, among his father's papers, a declaration of certain strangers, to the effect that they had been driven by violent winds, from the codfish coast, on the Atlantic, to the South Sea, through the Straits of Anian, which is beyond Cape Mendocino, and had on their way, seen a rich and populous city, well fortified, and inhabited by a numerous and civilized nation, who had treated them well; as also many other things worthy to be seen and known. His majesty had also been informed that ships, sailing from China to Mexico, ran great risks, particularly near Cape Mendocino, where the storms were most violent, and that it would be advantageous to have that coast surveyed thence to Acapulco, so that the ships, mostly belonging to his majesty, should find place for relief and refreshment when needed."

The order was therefore given to Monterey, the viceroy of Mexico, to have the coast surveyed at his own expense. As this is the origin of the name of the

Bay of Monterey, in California, it may well be noted as marking the movement of Spanish power toward Oregon. It should also be noticed that after the proper mode of navigating the Pacific had been found by Urdenata, the California Coast became well known to the pilots from Manila and China, from Cape Mendocino down. It is stated that the Bay of San Francisco seems to have been well known before the end of the century. Any time after the close of the seventeenth century, therefore, such wrecks as the one mentioned in the tradition of the Clatsops about Konapee, might have happened, a galleon returning from Manila being blown out of her course by a storm from the south.

As a result of his orders Monterey sent Sebastian Vizcaino, a distinguished officer, on an expedition of discovery along the Lower California coast. As this was at the viceroy's own expense the expedition was probably not very well equipped and little was done, except to try to plant a colony in Lower California. Philip II died soon after; but his successor, Philip III, ordered the survey renewed, and in consequence a much better fitted expedition was provided, having an equipment of instruments and as scientific a corps as could be obtained in Mexico. This left Acapulco in 1602—300 years ago. With the delays and troubles of this expedition we need not linger except to quote from the old narrator, who found natural enemies to the Spanish, which he readily believed were in league with the evil one. He

speaks of their "chief enemy," the North West Wind, which was raised up "by the foe of the human race, in order to prevent the advance of the ships, and to delay the discovery of those countries, and the conversion of their inhabitants to the Catholic faith"—though possibly the Providential purpose was quite as much to let the country and its inhabitants wait for another race of people, to whom the deserts and the northwest winds would be no enemy.

The expedition consisted of two large ships, and a small one, and the results were important. The little one, called a frigate, or *fragata*, performed the most interesting services, and made not only the first known landing on the shores of Oregon, but brought reports that quite influenced geographical opinion for more than a century. The Bay of Monterey was entered and given its present name by Vizcaino. After leaving this most beautiful of ports the three vessels were parted in a storm, Vizcaino taking refuge in San Francisco Bay, but afterwards sailed north as far as the forty-second parallel, and discovering a high white bluff, which may have been Blanco, or Orford. He returned to Mexico, with much valuable information. The *fragata* under Aguilar also went north and in latitude 43, or beyond, made important discoveries. Torquemada, as translated by the American historian, Greenhow, thus describes the first authentic landing of Spaniards on any part of the Oregon coast.

He says—" The *fragata* parted from the Capitana (Vizcaino's ship), and supposing that she had gone onward, sailed in pursuit of her. Being in the latitude of 41 the wind began to blow from the southwest, and the *fragata* being unable to withstand the waves on her beam, ran before the wind until she found shelter under the land, and anchored near Cape Mendocino, behind a great rock, where she remained until the gale had passed over. When the wind became less violent they continued their voyage close along shore, and, on the 19th of January, the pilot, Antonio Flores, found that they were in the latitude of 43 degrees, where they found a cape, or point, which they named Cape Blanco. From that point the coast begins to turn northwest; and near it was discovered a rapid and abundant river, with ash trees, willows, and brambles, and other trees of Castile, on its banks, which they endeavoured to enter, but could not from the force of the current. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, the commander, and Antonio Flores, the pilot, saw they had already reached a higher latitude than had been ordered by the viceroy, in his instructions; that the Capitana did not appear; and that the number of the sick was great, agreed to return to Acapulco; and they did so, as I shall hereafter show. It is supposed that this river is the one leading to a great city, which was discovered by the Dutch when they were driven thither by storms, and that it is the Strait of Anian, through which the vessels passed, in sailing from the North

Sea (Atlantic) to the South Sea (Pacific); and that the city called Quivira is in those parts; and that this is the region referred to in the account which his majesty read, and which induced him to order this expedition."

Aguilar's discovery was of some small river, probably in large flood, after the rain, but certainly not worthy of the supposition made by Torquemada. However, it suited the purpose of the King and the Spanish people to have it published that they knew and possessed the Pacific entrance of whatever strait there was across the northern part of North America. It was also found convenient to have this unimportant but honest little river, which would never have knowingly lent itself to purposes of deception, considered as another opening to the Gulf of California, the tradition that North America was composed of islands having become too thoroughly fixed in the Spanish mind to be uprooted at once; though with only superficial evidence. Accordingly the map-makers showed all California as an island, up to the 43d degree. The Straits of Anian were also drawn, and the little river was also figured as of great size. From these conclusions, suiting well both Spanish political claims and Spanish fancy grew the idea of a great northern river, which was coupled with inland straits and passages. Disquiet was relieved, and dangers of fresh irruptions of English and Dutch from the Atlantic side were no longer feared. It was nature, however, not any effective

Spanish fortifications or forethought, that guarded Oregon from the Dutch and English.

Not for a hundred and sixty years after Vizcaino's and Aguilar's expedition, which covered only about the same ground as Cabrillo's as noticed by Greenhow, did the Spaniards attempt any further explorations, or plan conquests to the north. Spanish power was declining in Spain, and the Pacific was repeatedly broken into by her enemies, though still maintained, whenever she was able, as her exclusive property.

Movements of Spanish people northward were slowly made, The Jesuits first established missions in Lower California, but were at length expelled from all Mexico, having shown great ability in gaining wealth for their institutions, which made them in turn a rich prize for governors. The Spaniards, however, were still strongly Catholic, and in the later part of the eighteenth century, that is in 1769, an effort was made to colonize California under religious influences. The Viceroy of Mexico, De Croix, moved a general impulse to restore again the power of Spain in the Pacific, looked over the old charts and reports of Vizcaino, and decided that the magnificent harbors of San Diego and Monterey would afford the best places. La Paz, the old camp of Cortes, was selected as the starting point, and here was collected a small body of settlers, under Franciscan friars, who were to march overland to San Diego. This was a true immigration, having



ZALTIERI'S MAP, 1566

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cattle and the necessaries of a civilized community. We are not dealing here with the history of California, but this settlement is of great interest, as it may be remarked that to the cattle brought there, or in the same way later, probably many of the Spanish animals of the early pioneer days of Oregon may be traced.

There were two parties of the colonists, one reaching San Diego in May, and beginning settlement; and the second not until two months later. To us, who think of California as a land of perpetual spring or summer, the hardships and privations of these first Californians seem hardly credible. Yet both by land and sea the Spanish complain of great sufferings in all their expeditions; and no doubt justly, though these were due rather to bad management and insufficient supplies. Two ships despatched as auxiliaries reached San Diego. The second party was to go on to Monterey. But the leader took his company past that point, and came out upon San Francisco Bay. With this party we feel the more interest, as their supply ship, which had sailed from La Paz with those of the San Diego settlement, never reached its destination. According to the Spanish account it sailed from La Paz, but was never heard from afterwards. The surmise of Mr. Smith, who relates the legend of the Indians, that this was the vessel bringing the beeswax, and wrecked on the Oregon Coast at the mouth of the Nehalem, is perhaps correct. Portala, the leader, and his party,

not getting their supplies, and finding that the winter rains were about to begin, returned to San Diego. Settlements, however, rapidly increased in California; missions were established, and many native converts were made, who worked at the missions, and were a source of no inconsiderable profit to the religious establishments. The natives received agricultural as well as religious training, and were mingled more or less with the Spanish population when California was received into the American Union.

By the time the settlements were made in California, Spain was warned by the progress of events that she must no longer remain in ignorance of the country to the north of California, and the old fear of Philip was revived. Others nations, and especially England, were advancing so rapidly upon the sea that the possible occupation of the northwest coast of America was every day becoming probable. England had long since declared that the simple fact of discovery could not be regarded by her as a title to any country, unless followed up by actual use and occupation. Russia, as we shall see later, had long before the California settlements been occupying posts on the northern coast. The control of the Pacific Ocean was still something worthy to contend for, and the actual establishment of either England or Russia at the mouth of the great river that was supposed to lie to the north could not be allowed. The only effectual check on this, short of successful war, was to discover and occupy the mouth of the river.

Accordingly, by order of the Spanish Government, three exploring expeditions were now made. The first was in 1774, and the last in 1779. It will be noticed that this was done during the period of our Revolutionary war, which resulted at length in war between Great Britain and France, and also with Spain. England was therefore less interested than she might be otherwise in pressing her claims and watching the Spanish in the Pacific.

The first of the three voyages was made by Juan Perez, sailing from San Blas in January of 1774. He touched at San Diego, and also at Monterey, leaving the latter place in June. His orders were to proceed to the sixtieth degree of latitude, and thence coast south, examining the shores and harbors. He reached the fifty-fourth degree by the 18th of July, but on account of stormy weather, and the ever prevalent scurvy on Spanish vessels, here put about, and began the examination of the shore. He touched at Queen Charlotte's Island, and traded trifling articles for valuable furs, such as sea otter; but appeared not to realize the importance of this fact. That his examination was not very close is shown by the further fact that he did not again see land until in latitude 49 degrees, and that he did not learn that Queen Charlotte's Island was not connected with the main land. Indeed, he was wholly ignorant of the system of interior passages of southern Alaska, where he might have spent many months in what would seem true Anians. He re-

mained in ignorance that Vancouver's Island was separated from the main land, although finding a fine harbor, supposed to be Nootka, or perhaps Clyoquot. The natives were found ready to trade, but he was much surprised that there were among them knives and arrow tips of iron—affording incidental evidence of the visits of such men as Konapee, as told of by the Clatsops. Neither did Perez, nor his pilot, Martinez, see the Straits of Fuca—the original discovery of which, as supposed, will be related in another chapter; though Martinez afterward stated that he saw the southern cape of the entrance. The results of the voyage were therefore quite negative. They sighted the snowy range of the Olympic Mountains, to which they gave the name Sierra de Santa Rosalia.

The results of this voyage were so meager that the Spanish Government withheld publication, and a second expedition was immediately ordered. This was to be with two vessels, one a ship and the other a schooner, with the orders to proceed as far north as the sixty-fifth degree. The ship was under Bruno Heceta, and the schooner, on account of the loss of mind by her first captain, was placed under Bodega —Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. Bodega proved the more faithful man, but Heceta's part in the voyage is of more interest to us. The two crafts together left San Blas in March, and by the 10th of June had doubled Cape Mendocino, north of which they found a small bay, where they entered

and remained nine days taking water and repairing the vessels. They took solemn possession of the country, and had friendly communications with the natives, who were peaceable and apparently industrious; and had small articles of iron and copper. After quitting this point they were forced far out to sea, and did not sight land again until in latitude 47 degrees, or 48 degrees. Here a boat from the schooner was sent ashore, but on landing the crew were immediately attacked and murdered by the natives. This was but a short distance south of the entrance to the Straits of Fuca, at what has been called Destruction Island, from another massacre near that point some years later. As the schooner was considerably crippled by the loss of men and her only boat, and as the scurvy was appearing among his men, Heceta thought best to return to Monterey, but his pilot, Perez, and both Bodega and Maurelle of the schooner, believed they would be able to still carry out instructions, and the commander therefore unwillingly steered north on July 20th. But a storm soon arising separated the vessels, and Heceta ordered ship about and stood southward. He looked again between latitude 48 degrees and 47 degrees, where the Straits of Fuca were reported, but finding no entrance continued south, and on the 15th of August was in latitude 46 degrees 10 minutes, off a great river. He made two efforts to enter, but meeting a very powerful current, at length gave up, and sailed away. He gave the name Assumption Inlet to

the entrance, and called the cape on the north Cabo San Roque, and that on the south Cabo Frondoso. The entrance was afterwards charted by the Spanish as Heceta's Inlet, and the river named St. Roc.

Heceta's account is so interesting, as the first authentic account of a white man at the Columbia bar, and as giving an insight into the style and character of the Spanish discoverers, that it is here inserted, as translated in Greenhow's Oregon and California.

Heceta says:—"On the 17th of August I sailed along the coast to the 46th degree, and observed that from the latitude 47 degrees 4 minutes to that of 46 degrees 10 minutes, it runs in the angle of 18 degrees of the second quadrant, and from that latitude to 46 degrees 4 minutes, in the angle of 12 degrees of the same quadrant; the soundings, the shore, the wooded character of the country, and the little islands, being the same as on the preceding days.

"On the evening of this day I discovered a large bay, to which I gave the name Assumtion Bay, and a plan of which will be found in this journal. Its latitude and longitude are determined according to the most exact means afforded by theory and practice. The latitudes of the two most prominent capes of this bay are calculated from the observations of this day.

"Having arrived opposite this bay at six in the evening, and placed the ship nearly midway between the two capes, I sounded and found bottom in four

brazas (nearly four fathoms). The currents and eddies were so strong that, notwithstanding a press of sail, it was difficult to get out clear of the northern cape, towards which the current ran, though its direction was eastward in consequence of the tide being at flood. These currents and eddies caused me to believe that the place is the mouth of some great river, or of some passage to another sea. Had I not been certain of the latitude of this bay, from my observations of the same day, I might easily have believed it to be the passage discovered by Juan de Fuca, in 1592, which is placed on the charts between the 47th and the 48th degrees; where I am certain no such strait exists; because I anchored on the 14th of July midway between these latitudes, and carefully examined everything around. Notwithstanding the great difference between this bay and the passage mentioned by De Fuca I have little difficulty in conceiving they may be the same, having observed equal or greater differences in the latitudes of other capes and ports on this coast, as I will show at the proper time; and in all cases latitudes thus assigned are higher than the real ones.

" I did not enter and anchor in this port, which in my plan I suppose to be formed by an island, notwithstanding my strong desire to do so; because, having consulted with the second captain, Don Juan Perez, and the pilot, Don Christoval Revilla, they insisted I ought not to attempt it, as, if we let go the anchor, we should not have men enough to get

it up, and to attend to the other operations which would be thereby necessary. Considering this, and also, that, in order to reach the anchorage, I should be obliged to lower my long boat (the only boat I had) and to man it with at least fourteen of the crew, as I could not manage with fewer, and also as it was then late in the day, I resolved to put out; and at the distance of three leagues I lay to. In the course of that night I experienced heavy currents to the southwest, which made it impossible to enter the bay on the following morning, as I was far to leeward. These currents, however, convinced me that a great quantity of water rushed from this bay on the ebb of the tide.

"The two capes which I name in my plan, Cape San Roque and Cape Frondoso, lie in the angle of 10 degrees of the third quadrant. They are both faced with red earth and are of little elevation.

"On the 18th I observed Cape Frondoso, with another cape, to which I gave the name of Cape Falcon, situated in the latitude of 45 degrees 43 minutes, and they lay at an angle of 22 degrees of the third quadrant, and from the last mentioned cape I traced the coast running in the angle of 5 degrees of the second quadrant. This land is mountainous, but not very high, nor so well wooded as that lying between the latitudes of 48 degrees 30 minutes, and 46 degrees. On sounding I found great differences: at the distance of seven leagues I got bottom at 84 brazas; and nearer the coast I sometimes found no bottom; from



WYTFLIET—PTOLEMY MAP, 1597.—No. 1



which I am inclined to believe there are reefs or shoals on these coasts, which is also shown by the color of the water. In some places the coast presents a beach, in others it is rocky.

"A flat-topped mountain, which I named the Table, will enable any navigator to know the position of Cape Falcon without observing it; as it is in the latitude of 45 degrees 28 minutes, and may be seen at a great distance, being somewhat elevated."

This description of the mouth of the Columbia by the old Spanish navigator will be recognized by all those familiar with it as very accurate, as seen from outside. Greenhow, even from simple evidence of correctness, may well remark that there is no doubt about the genuineness of Heceta's discovery. The red iron-stained earth of Cape Disappointment, and of all the clayey or rocky hills jutting on the coast; their rather low elevation, the leafy, or fronded appearance of Point Adams, the low Clatsop Plains, which he seems to consider an island, as also some of the low lands to the north, which he mistook for the same, with a true Spanish predilection; and then the jutting promontory of Cape Falcon, and the table-shaped top of the receding mountain, are all true to the life. The south slopes of all these hills, including Chinook, the Astoria peninsula, portions of Tillamook Head, and Nehahni Mountain, are also bald, or were much more so in those times than now. Evidently the weather was all that could be desired on the 17th and 18th of August, 1775; as any impedi-

ment from storm, or fog, or smoke, would otherwise have been included among the reasons given for not making an entrance. It is probable, however, that Heceta acted wisely in not attempting an entrance at evening. But he might very easily have proved his surmises by a few days' delay; and the whole narrative, while showing a fairly well educated leader, and a close observer, shows also one of much caution, and without personal interest in his undertaking. He brings up the long list of Spaniards who never got into Oregon unless by some accident.

Much more faithful, though with less important results, were the exertions of Bodega and Maurelle, in the schooner from which Heceta had parted. They sailed on north to latitude 56 degrees, and discovered the fine cone of Mount Edgecomb, one of the many volcanic peaks of the northern mountains. Many points of interest were seen in southern Alaska, and on the return they attempted to find again the river discovered by Aguilar; but returned after eight months to San Blas, without any great discoveries; the most of their reports were of a negative character. Yet both Heceta and Bodega were as near as men could be to the two greatest geographical puzzles of the age—the Straits of Fuca and the mouth of the Columbia. Bodega, however, deserves to be remembered for his fidelity, and it is proper that while Heceta's name has disappeared from all charts Bodega's is still commemorated in the harbor just north of San Francisco Bay, into which he entered

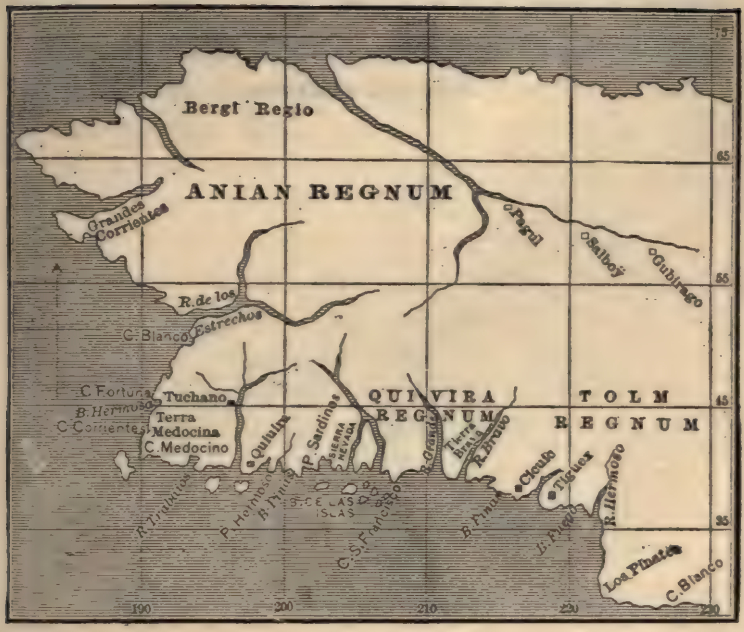
by mistake, seeking the inlet later called the Golden Gate.

The third expedition of the season was under Arteaga, in 1779, with Bodega in command of the second ship; the two vessels of this equipment being well provided, and fine crafts. With the coast of Oregon this had nothing to do, but proceeded directly to the north, and reached a point where a mountain "higher than Orizaba" was sighted; which was no doubt St. Elias. But the results of this voyage were also negative. Nevertheless it was claimed with reason by Spain, that under her flag and at her charge the entire shore from Monterey to the 60th degree had been viewed.

As a conclusion to the results of Spanish occupation of the Pacific Ocean, and nearly all its shores, from 1525 for nearly three centuries, and yet gaining no foothold in Oregon, at least two reasons easily appear. One relates to the Spanish character, the other to their form of government. In character the Spaniards were still in the age of militarism. They were like the Romans, a predaceous people. They had not developed either the taste or the capacity of production by industry. Wealth did not appear to them, except as first created or extracted by some other people. They therefore did not seek productive soils, or rich mines, but great and wealthy nations, which they immediately proceeded to spoil,

having, in the chances of the world's condition, a religious sanction for so doing. Refusal of any people wealthy enough to be worth conquering, to accept upon demand the religion of the Cross was reason enough for war and plunder. Consequently they could roam over Colorado seeking some old chief wearing a copper ring, suspended at his neck, but never learned of the gold at Pike's Peak, or Cripple Creek; they could also actually occupy California from 1769 to 1846, more than two generations, and yet not know that California had more gold than Cortes had ever dreamed of, simply because the natives had never learned the use of the metal, nor had looked for it. The Spanish still belonged to the military, and not the industrial, age. Oregon, as well as the less difficult and remote California, was regarded as a wilderness of no value. Their exploits in the New World rather accentuated this quality, and made them retrogressive. They reverted to an older type than that from which they immediately came.

The form of the Spanish Government, which also hindered and repressed discovery and settlement, was an outgrowth of the same military spirit. The New World was laid under tribute to Spain as the Old World had once been to Rome. The accumulations of the subject peoples were absorbed as rapidly as possible by the mother country and were not allowed for use in development of Mexico, or any part of the Pacific regions. Local spirit and industry were discouraged, local enterprise was torn down,



WYTFLIET—PTOLEMY MAP, 1597.—No. 2



and all the incentives of trade were shut off. Indolence and ignorance were encouraged. The governors sought rather to repress than to advance the people. Even those directed to perform useful things, as Heceta, sought rather how to make a good showing than to complete the task.

CHAPTER VIII

Romantic Voyages and Pretended Discoveries

WE must now, as briefly as may be, retrace our steps again, in order to gather up another thread of influences and ideas which had much weight in urging forward the discoveries on the northwest coast. Many of these were of a more or less fictitious character, and nearly all are now regarded as colored above any possible actual experience. But it often happens that a fiction has more influence than a fact, and periods of discovery are always surrounded by a mellow halo of romance. The simple fact is that active minds are always more interested in what is about to be, or to happen, than in what has already been done; and our lives are spent principally in anticipation, or calculations, of the future. It is while things are still possible that we dwell upon them in thought.

It was already the fact that the desire on the part of the English for a northwest passage, and the possibility that it might be found, led to a belief that it existed, and that many of the voyages were undertaken with the idea of discovering this desirable water way. Many of the early geographical myths circle around this idea of a mysterious passage from the North Atlantic to the North Pacific. Nature, indeed, was very indulgent to such a supposition, offering almost innumerable avenues for the conjecture of even careful navigators. The gulf of St. Lawrence, and even the Hudson River, opened with broad expanses to the sea. Around the coasts of Labrador,

and more particularly as the broad waters of Davis' Straits and Baffin's Bay, and the almost numberless windings and sinuosities of Hudson's Bay, were examined, the preconception, naturally gained from the insular character of the West and East Indies, was compelled to wait long for disapproval. Long after the idea had ceased as a probability, the possibility was so agreeable as to still excite imagination. It must be remembered, too, that as the slow increase in science swept away old superstitions and romances in Europe, they were naturally chased to America. The Spanish soldier easily thought the fountain of youth might exist in Florida. Marco Polo could delight his hearers with accounts of tailed men at the antipodes, and Jonathan Swift could locate the singular countries and people of Brobdignag somewhere near where Oregon now is, without offending the sense of reality. The actual wonders in America, as the prodigious quantities of gold found by the Spaniards, made singular or unfounded stories easily credited.

This greatly desired and long undisproved passage was actually named, and the eastern end was placed on the maps. It was long believed, says Greenhow, basing his statement upon old accounts and the labors of George Bancroft, that a Portuguese navigator, Gaspar Cortereal, had sailed through a narrow channel westward from the coasts of Labrador into another sea, communicating with the Indian Ocean. It was called by him Anian. This was as

early as 1500, but shortly after Columbus touched at San Salvador. The name, and in course of time, the idea, gained standing from simple long belief. The origin of this name, like that of Oregon, has been a puzzle. In the oldest maps the northwest part of America has been marked Ania. Cortereal was said to have bestowed the name in honor of two brothers who accompanied him, but of this there is no evidence.

Sir Francis Drake, as will be seen, attempted to pass through these straits, sailing thus to the coast of California, hoping to find the western end, and thus to avoid the necessity of meeting the Spanish in the Straits of Magellan. Some five accounts that attracted attention have been noticed, and these will be briefly entered here. Fictions leading to useless or foolish actions are usually regarded with contempt after the hopes they excited have been exploded; but they are entitled to the same regard as is accorded to the suppositions and guesses of the inventor, who advances from supposition to supposition until he has exhausted all the false surmises and finally reaches the truth. So the following, though probably tinged with more or less conscious unreliability, and a desire either to attract attention, or to obtain service, were important steps in leading to the truth.

The first was the report in regard to Urdanata, the celebrated friar who discovered the correct mode of navigating the Pacific. Sir Humphry Gilbert, the

celebrated English sailor, and Sir Henry Sydney, were told by one Salvitierra, a gentleman of Victoria, in Spain, who came by chance into Ireland from the West Indies, in 1568, that Urdanata had come from the South Sea into Germany, through the northern passage, and showed him " a sea card made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described the North West passage." From some of Urdanata's papers is the statement that some Frenchmen were reported to have sailed around North America, and come into the Pacific in latitude fifty; but no account of his own passage is found. Urdanata recommended that the passage be looked for and fortified by the Spanish.

Somewhat later an old pilot, Laderillo, of Colima, Mexico, is mentioned, who declared that in his youth he had sailed from the Atlantic, through a passage near New Foundland, into the Pacific. Other pilots as they grew old seem to have remembered the same, or similar experiences, and we may conclude that the Spanish sailors of a few centuries past were of the genuine race, and heard and told so many stories that they at length considered all the most striking adventures as having happened in their own person.

In 1609 another and much more ambitious account was presented in writing to the Council of the Indies, being given as a serious and accurate account of an actual voyage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was written by a Portuguese, Maldonado, who had already written on geography and history, and was a



MALDONADO'S STRAIT OF ANIAN, 1609



true exploiter of impossible inventions, such as a magnetic needle without variation. His object in describing his voyage, and the entrance to the Straits of Anian, was in order to be entrusted with fortifying it against enemies of Spain. This object was so apparent and lent such a dubious character to his account that it was at once rejected by the council; but the story lived. It was accepted to quite an extent at the time, and as late as 1790 it was revived and its truthfulness defended by a French geographer, Buache; and again in 1812, by a Milanese.

It is bombastic and clumsy, being entitled "A Relation of the Discovery of the Straits of Anian, made by me, Captain Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in the year 1588; in which is described the course of Navigation, the Situation of the Place, and the Manner of Fortifying it." The following extracts are here given as illustrating the style of these old stories, and giving a much better idea of the average public intelligence upon geographical science than can be obtained from more conscientious writings. Describing the beginning, he says: "Departing from Spain—suppose from Lisbon—the course is northwest for the distance of 450 leagues, when the ship will have reached the latitude of 60 degrees, where the island of Friesland will be seen, commonly called Fule, or File (Feroe). Thence the course is westward on the parallel of 60 degrees for 180 leagues, which will bring the navigator to the land of Labrador, where the strait of that name, or Davis' Strait,

begins, the entrance to which is very wide, being somewhat more than thirty leagues; the land on the coast of Labrador, which is to the west, is very low; but the opposite side of the straits consists of very high mountains. Here two openings appear, which are between these high mountains. One of the passages runs east-north-east, and the other northwest. The one running east-north-east, which is on the right hand, and looks toward the north, must be left, as it leads to Greenland, and thence to the sea of Friesland. Taking the other passage and steering northwest 80 leagues, the ship will arrive in the latitude of 64 degrees."

The course of this passage is described up to latitude 75, and down again to 71, for many leagues, and then 440 leagues from a certain island, where the Straits of Anian were found. He continues:

"The strait which we discovered in 60 degrees, at the distance of 1,710 leagues from Spain, appears, according to ancient tradition, to be that named by geographers in their maps, the Strait of Anian; and if it be so, it must be a strait having Asia on one side and America on the other, which seems to be the case according to the following narration." He then describes sailing along the coast more than one hundred leagues, and concludes that they were on the ocean that led to Cape Mendocino and Quivira. Then they sailed west four days, with a wind abeam so that they made thirty leagues a day, and discovered very high land, which according to charts belonged to Tar-

tary, or Cathaia; "and at a distance of a few leagues from the coast must be the famed city of Cambalu, the metropolis of Tartary." But continuing without stopping and following the direction of the coast, they circled back and found themselves at the entrance of the Straits of Anian—thus proving that there was no other entrance, or passage. They concluded that they had thus passed through to the South Sea, " where are situated Japan, China, the Moluccas, New Guinea, and the land discovered by Captain Quiros, with all the coast of New Spain and Peru."

Opportunely the entrance to Anian was found easily adapted to fortification. There were two entrances, one toward the north, the other toward the south. That on the north was less than a quarter of a league wide, and on the Asiatic side the mountain was high and so overhanging that a rock falling from the top would clear the base—just the spot from which to drop missiles upon hostile vessels. The south entrance was wider, opening into the South Sea, but at the third turn is a great rock, in the middle of the channel, between which and the shore of Asia were shoals and reefs, so that ships could not pass if opposed.

Quite remarkably, too, but very naturally in order to prove the necessity of immediate fortifications, Maldonado and his men found a ship entering the Straits of Anian, who, to add to the danger, although they could not talk Spanish, and could only

converse by their clerks in Latin, seemed to be Lutherans. The ship of the strangers was loaded with spices and silks, but both parties being disinclined to have a hostile encounter, the Spaniards compounded with the Lutherans, and the latter, being anxious to get away, returned to the South Sea, and the Portuguese came back through the passages to the Atlantic.

This story, widely circulated, led the Spanish to look later for any possible openings in the North Pacific; and illustrates the plasticity of geographical conceptions at the time. It has been suggested that some unknown Spanish expedition from the Pacific side, following the inland passages of Alaska, gave a suggestion to Maldonado's story.

Another story that attracted attention was of the voyage of Fonte through a great river called by him Rio de los Reyes, which for a time became confused in the public mind with the river of the West. This was published at London in 1708, although the adventure was of a much earlier date. A French translation was made in 1750, and the probable authenticity of the discovery was defended by Delisle and Buache, geographers. But it was at length concluded that the entire account was a fabrication by one of the writers upon the magazine in which it was first published.

According to the story Admiral Pedro Bartoleme de Fonte sailed from Callao, the seaport of Lima, Peru, in April of 1740, with four vessels, under or-

ders from the viceroy of Peru, for the North Pacific, and for intercepting vessels that were suspected of visiting the South Sea from Boston, or of searching for a northwest passage. After passing by Cape St. Lucas and the Californias the admiral continued northward and passed in crooked channels for two hundred and sixty leagues among islands, to which he gave the name of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. One might imagine that he, or some of the Spanish, actually saw the Thousand Islands of Southern Alaska, if it were not that the entire race of Spaniards from Sancho Panza down have ever had a peculiar belief in islands well adapted for them to govern.

Beyond the islands he found in latitude 53° a great river, which he named the River of the Kings, which, however, no American stream has accepted as its name or fealty; Fonte despatched his lieutenant to examine the coast further north, and he himself ascended the river, coming at length to a lake of such beauty that it was naturally called by him Lake Belle. In the lake, as the Spanish fancy would have it, were many islands, and the inhabitants, which were numerous, were kind and hospitable. On the south side of the lake was the large town of the natives, which was called Conasset, a name having no resemblance to those along this coast. Here he left his ships, and proceeded down a river called Parmentier, flowing from Lake Belle eastward into another lake, which he honored with the name of Fonte, for himself; and

from this second lake the stream widened into a passage named the Strait of Ronquillo, in honor of one of the captains, and by this was connected with a sea, which would seem to be an arm of the Atlantic, or some gulf connecting with the Atlantic.

When they entered this sea their suspicions were verified, as in both dreams and fiction what we begin to think may occur is always sure to appear. Fonte was told by some Indians that a great ship lay a little way off, where there had never come one before. He went to the ship, with his men, and found on board only an old man and a youth, who told them, as might be expected, that they came from Boston, a town in New England. The next day the captain, one Nicholas Shapley, arrived, with the owner of the ship, one Seymour Gibbons, "a fine gentleman, and major-general of the largest colony in New England, called Maltechusetts." Under strict instructions, Fonte should at once have made a prize of this captain and ship, and major-general, as trespassers upon the territory of the King of Spain, but both the strangers and Fonte were so impressed with one another's nobility of character that only a struggle of courtesies was undertaken between them, and after making the colonials magnificent presents the admiral returned to his ships at the Lake Beautiful, and thence down the River of the Kings to the Pacific.

His lieutenant had in the meantime ascended another stream, called by him Rio de Haro, into a lake

named Velasco, in latitude 61 degrees, from which he went in canoes as far north as latitude 79 degrees, where the coast was seen still trending north, and ice rested on the land. He was also assured that there was no connection with Davis' Straits, for the natives conducted one of the seamen to the head of these waters, "which terminated in a lake of fresh water of about thirty miles circumference, in the 80th degree, and there were prodigious mountains north of it."

The conclusion of this story, which, even if it had some core of fact in traditions among Spanish sailors, was palpably a mere recreation of fancy, was to show that there was no ship passage north of America.

Still another old account was that to which much greater credit has been given, and which has extreme historic interest from the name to which it was traced, and which was in consequence bestowed upon the great straits connecting the Pacific Ocean with Puget Sound. This was the account of Juan de Fuca. It was for a time forgotten, but after more than a century was revived, and so far believed by both Spaniards and English that special expeditions —that of the English being Cook's—were sent to examine the coast and search for the straits that were reported to have been found by him in latitude 47 degrees to 48 degrees. When at length the great channel was actually found between 48 degrees and 49 degrees, the original story seemed so well con-

firmed, and was so well known, that without hesitation or protest it was called the Strait of Juan de Fuca. But notwithstanding this general credence and the weight attached to it by Greenhow, it is very doubtful whether the original account was of much more accuracy than that of many such in circulation; but being more fortunate in its descriptions turned out to be the best guess. The object of the story was to interest Queen Elizabeth in an expedition to the Pacific Coast, which if well carried out might have gained still greater claims for Great Britain on the Pacific.

The account was given to the world by one Michael Lock, an English merchant. It is entitled "A Note made by me, Michael Lock the elder, touching the Strait commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the Northwest Passage of Meta Incognita."

It proceeds:—"When I was in Venice, in April, 1596, haply there arrived there an old man, about sixty years of age, called commonly Juan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolos Valerianos, of nation a Greek, born in Cephalonia, of profession a mariner, and ancient pilot of ships. This man, being come recently out of Spain, arrived first at Leghorn, and went thence to Florence, where he found one John Douglas, an Englishman, a famous mariner, ready coming for Venice, to be a pilot for a Venetian ship for England, in whose company they both came together to Venice. And John Douglas being acquaint-



LOK'S MAP, 1582



ed with me before, he gave me knowledge of this Greek pilot, and brought him to my speech; and in long talks and conferences with us, in presence of John Douglas, this Greek pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth:

" First, he said that he had been in the West Indies of Spain forty years, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, in the service of the Spaniards.

" Also, he said that he was in the Spanish ship which, in returning from the islands Philippines towards Nova Spania, was robbed at the Cape of California by Captain Candish, Englishman, whereby he lost sixty thousand ducats of his own goods.

" Also, he said that he was pilot of three small ships which the viceroy sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, under a captain, Spaniards, to discover the Straits of Anian, along the coast of the South Sea, and to fortify in that strait, to resist the passage and the proceeding of the English nation, which were feared to pass through those straits into the South Sea; and that by reason of mutiny among the soldiers for the misconduct of their captain, that voyage was overthrown, and the ship returned from California to Nova Spania, without anything done in that voyage, and that after their return the captain was punished by justice in Mexico.

" Also, he said that after said voyage was so ill-ended, the viceroy sent him out again in 1592, with

a small caravel and a pinnace, armed with mariners only, to follow the said voyage of the discovery of the Straits of Anian, and the passage thereof into the sea which they call The North Sea, all along the coast of Nova Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America (all of which voyage he signified to me in a great map, and a sea card of mine own, which I laid before him), until he came to the latitude of 47 degrees; and that there finding that the land trended north and northeast, with a broad inlet of sea between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trending still sometime northwest, and northeast, and north, and also eastward and southeastward, and very much broader sea than was at said entrance, and that he passed by divers Islands in that sailing; and that at the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the northwest coast thereof, a great headland or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar, thereupon.

"Also, he said that he went on land in divers places, and that he saw some people on land in beasts' skins; and that the land is very fruitful and rich of gold, silver, pearls, and other things like Nova Spania.

"And, also, he said that having entered into that strait and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the sea wide enough everywhere, and to be about thirty or forty leagues wide at the mouth of the straits where he entered, he thought he had now

well discharged his office; and, not being armed to resist the force of the savage people that might happen, he therefore set sail and returned homeward again to Nova Spania, where he arrived at Acapulco, anno 1592, hoping to be rewarded by the viceroy for this service done in the said voyage.

"Also, he said that after coming to Mexico he was greatly welcomed by the viceroy, and had promises of great reward; but that having sued there two years, and obtained nothing to his content, the viceroy told him that he should be rewarded in Spain, of the king himself, very greatly, and willed him therefore to go into Spain, which voyage he did perform."

Following up his acquaintance after the ancient pilot of ships had returned home, Lock addressed a letter to him, inscribed "To the Magnificent Captain Juan de Fuca, Pilot of the Indies, my most dear friend in Cephalonia," inquiring whether he would still prosecute his proposed venture. This was written from Venice, in July, 1596. A reply dated at Cephalonia, September 24, of the same year was received, and addressed in equally fine style, being "To the Illustrious Michael Lock, Englishman, at the House of Mr. Lazaro, English Merchant, in St. Thomas St., Venice."

It stated, "I have a mind to comply with my promise to you, and have not only myself, but twenty men, brave men, too, whom I can carry with me; so I am waiting for an answer to another letter I wrote you, about the money which I asked you to send me.

For you know well, Sir, how I became poor in consequence of Captain Candish's having taken from me more than sixty thousand ducats, as you well know. If you will send me what I asked I will go with you, as well as all my companions. I ask no more from your kindness, as shown by your letter. God preserve you, most illustrious Sir, for many years."

The above narration and the letter bear unmistakable evidence of a mercenary scheme, which casts great doubt upon any reliable information that the supposed discoverer of the straits might have had. Michael Lock himself, the English merchant who seemed to believe that the British Government might profit by the information that he had gathered, was evidently hoping to receive some reward; as he closes, after stating that upon a third attempt to reach Juan de Fuca, he learned that he was dead, or about to die of a great sickness, with this personal reference: "Whereupon I returned myself, by sea, from Zante to Venice, and from thence I went by land through France, into England, where I arrived at Christmas, anno 1602, safely, I thank God, after my absence from thence ten years' time, with great troubles had of the company of Turkey's business, which hath cost me a great sum of money, for the which I am not yet satisfied of them."

The story of Juan de Fuca was forgotten and no great confidence seems to have been felt in it, until Berkeley sailed into the straits but a degree from



THOMAS CAVENDISH

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that described by the Greek pilot. This coincidence revived the story and made it seem credible, and hence it happens that the greatest inlet of the Pacific Ocean, and without a rival, being of a breadth and depth, and situation to command any commerce of the world, now bears the name of the Cephalonian, adopted by him in the Spanish service. It is with some amusement that we find the first navigators of the straits looking for "the exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar." However, although this was probably a fabrication, it shows that there were among the pilots of the Pacific Ocean certain ideas of the northwest coast, especially as possessing islands and harbors, quite as accurate as any published by the leaders of expeditions. The story is also of great interest as showing the state of the public mind in Europe, and that no doubt almost every important court was besieged with applications from seafarers, or pilots, asking commissions or letters of piracy, proposing discoveries, or ravages of an enemy's commerce or her coasts. Out of such accounts as the above, and those of Maldonado and Fonte, cited before that of Juan de Fuca, grew a very entertaining literature. Shakespeare was affected by it, as is shown in many of his references, and the last and greatest play, "The Tempest," had its scene laid in one of the western islands. The sailors' lingo, and odd terms, as they have in all times, greatly struck the fancy of popular writers, and the unknown coasts of America thus came in

for their share of references and were kept before the popular interest.

The account of the voyage of Juan de Fuca was made public about 1602; that of Maldonado in 1608, and that of Fonte not until the eighteenth century. These, and many others of the same character, furnished a setting for many romances, and made possible one of the greatest satires of its own, or that of any age—"Gulliver's Travels." No doubt the author, the learned but misanthropical Dean Swift, was immensely amused by the style of such narratives, which descended into minute particulars, and at the same time gravely asserted such improbabilities. Here was suggested to him the character of Dr. Gulliver, one of the world's literary creations, and a scene fitting for that fine assemblage of new lands and islands, where Lilliputians, and Brobdignags, and other singular beings might exist, and shame the ways of mankind as practiced in Europe in the first part of the eighteenth century. This is a fine illustration how the course of literature corresponds to the state of general knowledge in the world, since the writer must aim to meet popular information; and how certain sorts of literature could not exist except at times allowing a fitting scene.

The object of the several books of Gulliver's travels was not at all geographical; the visit to Lilliput being but a humorous and, on the whole, good-natured description of how a man intellectually great, as Swift knew himself to be, felt in a society whose members

were so diminutive as those with whom he was obliged to have intercourse. The story of the Brobdignags was suggested by the first, and showed how small a man of refined and lofty ideas felt when among, or rather when thinking about beings as men ought to be. The later development, especially the closing scenes, among the Yahoos and Houyhnhnms, exceeds the bounds of humor, and becomes misanthropic, reaching the conclusion that the horse is, on the whole, a finer animal than man. But these humorous papers illustrate what was the common impression about America and the Pacific in 1728. Lilliput was located in the Southern Hemisphere, not far from New Guinea; but there was no unexplored place large enough there for the land of the Giants, so Brobdignag was located precisely in the latitude of Oregon, and about the mouth of the Columbia—well illustrating that this was then the great unknown. The countries upon which he was thrown later, and whose latitude and longitude are given with minute accuracy, as well as his manner of reaching them, were in the northern Pacific, Luggnagg and Blubdubdrib being southeast from Japan. Indeed, the universal idea then was that the coast of North America turned west about at the mouth of the Columbia, or a little north, and made another continent, or extended the continent out westward of California, and so Gulliver speaks of these localities or some of them, as on the continent west of California. The ocean along the Pacific Coast of North America was

considered, so far as known, but a narrow arm, with the continent doubling back again. This idea was perpetuated from the early name given to the Pacific. This was the Mar del Sur, or South Sea, as distinguished from the Atlantic, or North Ocean. America was figured as running east and west rather than north and south. In course of time the Pacific was regarded as mainly a southern sea, and to preserve the idea North America had to trend west a little above the latitude of California. Swift simply reflected the idea of the learned world at his time.

It is quite certain that he was well acquainted with at least one, and probably many of the floating accounts cited above of voyages on the Pacific Coast, as he gives the name Maldonada as one of his ports—evidently from Maldonado.

CHAPTER IX

The English in the Pacific

THE supremacy of the Spanish in the South Sea was not uncontested. The first and the most resolute rivals were the English. For more than a century it seemed that the inhabitants of the British Isles were to be crowded into what were regarded as the essentially worthless portions of the New World, and to play only a very small part in its development. While Columbus was discovering the West Indies and the mouth of the Orinoco, Cabot was discovering Labrador; while the Spanish followers of the former Italian were overrunning Mexico and Peru, and reaching across the Pacific and around Cape Horn to the real Indies, the English followers of the later Italian were wasting their time and resources in unprofitable attempts to find northwest passages or planting colonies that speedily failed. No rich or powerful nations were found in that part of the New World which fell to their lot, and both nature and the tribes occupying their acquisitions were rough and inhospitable.

Nevertheless the Anglo-Saxons of even that day, though few and poor, were a doughty people, and under such stirring rulers as Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, and Queen Elizabeth, were not willing to yield all the world to Spain and Portugal, even though it were thus disposed of by the Pope. From the days of Elizabeth, or perhaps earlier, the English protested against the restrictions of Spain upon commerce, and demanded that the seas be for-

common traffic, and that the ports of countries not at war be open to all nations. This liberal doctrine, giving origin to the term "high seas," has been supported by England with varying degrees of consistency, but always strenuously when it has been to her advantage, and it must be allowed that this freedom of traffic on the ocean has been mainly due both to the energy and the justice of the British. However, this was an intolerable doctrine to Spain, and both in peace and war she resented the efforts of the English to trade in the West Indies, or in Spanish America.

This in turn drew down the wrath of the British and being denied what they considered justice, they determined to carry on traffic without the consent of the Spanish authorities. It was deemed no piracy to thus force passages, and if necessary to increase profits by capture of prizes to do so. The bravest and most honorable of the English seamen encouraged, or took part, in such enterprises. Sir John Hawkins, for a time the leading captain of the kingdom, made a number of incursions into the West Indies, and sailed as far as the Isthmus, both to take prizes and to avenge the death of a son who had been killed by the Spanish on a former cruise. Indeed, free traders, or buccaneers, hung constantly upon the commerce of Spain across the Atlantic, and the condition of trade was of almost perpetual war. From Queen Elizabeth, who secretly, or even openly, encouraged her subjects in such adventures, the



SIR JOHN HAWKINS

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Spanish obtained no comfort. To a Spanish ambassador, who complained to her of the plunder of one of his sovereign's vessels, she is reported as replying that "the Spaniards had drawn these inconveniences upon themselves by their severe and unjust dealings in American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the Indies; that, as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by donation of the bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any other places than those they were in actual possession of; for that their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers and capes, were such insignificant things as could in no way entitle them to a propriety (ownership) further than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit." This was extremely strong doctrine, and the tone of defiance, or hauteur, which pervades every word, comes directly from the English spirit of the times. We should expect something to come from such words of the sovereign; though it is well to notice this declaration as afterwards very greatly embarrassing England herself when it came to a final settlement as to the true ownership of Oregon.

The Spanish trade across the Pacific was well defended by the natural obstacles to ingress. For a long time the English and the Dutch attempted to find a practicable passage on the north. Baffin,

Davis, and Hudson left their names in the icy seas, and Hudson even his body, but no opening was found. But the desire of the English to prey upon the commerce of which they could form a conception by what came across the Atlantic, increased until it culminated in the determination of the celebrated Sir Francis Drake, as, upon one of his incursions to Darien he ascended to the top of the ridge and looking from a tree upon the Pacific determined to sail an English ship upon its waters. Drake had been educated in seafaring by Hawkins, and was one of the most impetuous of the famous knights of the Virgin Queen. He began his career as an impecunious youth, having, it is said, at one time held a living in the English church; but if that were so, he soon changed his calling, and took service as purser on a ship sailing to the Bay of Biscay.

The first Englishman, however, to break into the Pacific was a buccaneer named Oxenham, who crossed the Isthmus and built a vessel and began capturing prizes before the tardy Spanish authorities could capture him; which, however, they did at length and executed him and his followers at Panama.

Drake, however, decided upon a much safer course, as the Isthmus was carefully guarded now, which was no less than to equip a squadron and sail through the Straits of Magellan, and thus attack the Spanish cities of America from an unexpected quarter. England and Spain were then at peace, and Drake was therefore obliged to give it out that his expedition

was for Egypt. It is stated, however, that Elizabeth understood perfectly the object of his undertaking, and lent him encouragement. Five small vessels were built and armed and equipped at the expense of Drake and his friends, and sailed from Plymouth December 13, 1577. After cruising some time in the Atlantic, but taking no prizes, he stopped to refit his squadron on the coast of Patagonia, finding it necessary to abandon two of the vessels, but safely passing through the Straits of Magellan with the other three. But not long afterwards these were separated in a storm, and Drake was left alone with his vessel of only an hundred tons burden and sixty men. This was the "Golden Hind," a craft that afterwards became so famous in England that it was ordered to be preserved for all the future, as the first vessel to encompass the world in a single voyage.

But although thus reduced and having no recourse whatever if any mishap happened to his schooner, Drake decided to carry out his purpose, and accordingly swept up the South American coast and easily took so much booty that his vessel could scarcely carry the spoil. He found the ports wholly unprepared for an attack, and no suspicion of his coming was felt until he struck and passed on. Having advanced as far north as Mexico, and plundered the town of Guatulco, and taken all the booty that it was safe to carry, it now became necessary to think of returning home. But how to get back safely was a problem. Success hitherto had been in simply rapid

movement and no delay after delivering a blow. To return as he came would doubtless be to fall in with Spaniards looking for him, and perhaps fortified at the Straits of Magellan. The idea now occurred to the navigator to return by the northwest passage, whose existence was generally conceded, provided one could find it. This would not only afford a safe and expeditious route, but also solve the great geographical problem, and if the passage was discovered and held by England, to his sovereign would fall the control of the South Sea.

Drake accordingly let loose from Mexico, the time being in the spring of 1579, and steered out into the Pacific, sailing west and northwest for 1,400 leagues; reaching on the first part of June a latitude of 43 degrees, where the keen breezes of the north Pacific made his men uncomfortable; as one of the narrators of the voyage says: "Being thus speedily come out of the extreme heat they found the air so cold, that, being pinched with the same, they complained of the extremity thereof." The weather was foggy, and with the thick weather his men's complaints increased, and after consideration "He thought it best for that time, to seek the land." Steering toward which he at length observed the American coast, but finding "a bad" harbor continued southward until on the 17th of June "It pleased God to send him into a fair and good bay, within 38 degrees toward the line."

This bay has been almost universally considered



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE



that of San Francisco; later writers, however, maintain that it was that of Bodega. A rest of five weeks was taken, the vessel was graved and repaired, and an excursion through the country made. The native inhabitants, who built their houses near the water's edge, were at first disposed to be suspicious, but the kindness of Drake soon won their hearts: so, at least, it is reported. While the bay mentioned does not seem so large or impressive as one would naturally think, if it were indeed San Francisco Bay; and while still further, a navigator on the search for the Northwest Passage could hardly have been struck at first with any thought but that he had found the object of his desire, and would not have given it up without exploring the Straits of Carquinez, and probably as far as Suisun, it still seems remarkable that Drake should have remained so long, and in friendly contact with the people, so near San Francisco Bay without learning of its existence. The weight of historical probability seems to be that it was the Bay of Bodega, rather than San Francisco, and that oversight of the Golden Gate was the explanation.

By the time that he was ready to leave Drake had by his kind and forbearing conduct so won the affections of the natives that they wished him to remain and be their king. While he could not remain, still he " Thought not meet to reject the crown, because he knew not what honor or profit it might bring his own country; whereupon in the name and to the

use of her majesty, Queen Elizabeth, he took the crown, sceptre, and dignity of the country in his own hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might be so conveniently transported, for the enriching of her kingdom." That such an assignment of authority actually took place, and is not a mere embellishment, is not improbable, as the natives would naturally have been greatly impressed with such a ship as that of Drake's, and if they found him moderate and peaceable, as there is every reason for supposing he would be, they might easily have asked to have him for chief. Their kindness to him and his men is, however, a much more important matter. It is one of the almost universal illustrations of a disposition of our own natives, as of all peoples everywhere, whether primitive or otherwise, to respond quickly and fairly to justice and kindness. The country was called New Albion by Drake, and now giving up the practicality of finding a passage north of America, he set out across the Pacific, to return by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

Discussions now unimportant as to the exact latitude reached by Drake, have not been settled. British writers in general state that this was to the 48th degree; where he made the mainland and anchored in a bad bay. If so, he was at the very entrance of the Straits of Fuca, where he might have spent a year sailing without being sure that he was not in the Northwest Passage. Greenhow contends, and with much apparent justice, that he could not have gone

further than latitude 43 degrees, and finds a tolerably well defined tendency on the part of those who named a higher latitude to shade off into myth, much after the Spanish style; exaggerating the simple statement, for instance, of Francis Pretty, who wrote the account of Drake's voyage from his own experience, that the men were pinched with the cold, to the declaration that the cold was so intense that ropes and sails were stiffened with ice, and meat was frozen as soon as taken from the spit.

We should not expect Drake to make a much more careful effort than he did, being but a privateer and having at that time little interest except getting himself and crew and a valuable cargo home the safest way possible. We should not expect him to find even San Francisco Bay, nor be at all surprised that although he probably looked upon the Siskiyou Mountains, and possibly the Olympics, that he saw neither the Columbia nor the Straits of Fuca. He therefore continued his adventurous voyage across the ocean grounding on a reef in the East Indies, but getting off safely, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope with but three barrels of water, but not stopping until on the coast of Guinea. and from there proceeding to England, where he arrived in September, 1580. He was received with great honor; the Queen, however, hesitated for a time, out of policy, to acknowledge his services, fearing complications with Spain, but soon went to his ship, and made him a knight, and approved his course in all particulars.

By his success other English freebooters were induced to make the same venture, but the most were interrupted in their career by the Spanish authorities. One Thomas Cavendish made himself nearly as terrible as Drake, and among others destroyed at Cape St. Lucas the ship of Juan de Fuca, who was said to have first sailed through the straits bearing his name.

Aside from the boldness of these incursions, and their demonstration of the weakness of Spain in the Pacific, no particular advantage was derived by England. Not the English but the Dutch discovered the open waters to the south of Tierra del Fuego, Lemaire and Vanschouten sailing around Cape Horn, or Hoorn, as named from their native town, in 1616. The Dutch also had the honor of exploring Hudson's Bay, in 1608. William Baffin, however, went through Baffin's Bay in 1616, and attention was directed on the part of the English to perfect if possible their discoveries on the north. It is to be noticed that from these efforts dated the great British Company, which had so large a share in the history of Oregon. This was chartered in 1669, by Charles II, of England, who offered as the justification of such a company that it would carry on the exploration of the bays and inlets of the great bay, or gulf—a supposition not very speedily consummated. This was first styled The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay. For many years its operations were confined to the very narrowest limits



KING CHARLES II



along the shore, yet it became afterwards an immense factor in carrying the British commerce to the Pacific, and even extending it as far north as Sitka, and as far west as the Hawaiian Islands.

However, with the single effort of Charles II, the British were quiet in the Pacific for almost two hundred years after the irruptions of Drake and Cavendish. This is explained when we remember that after the reign of Elizabeth came on the reactionary period of the Stuarts, causing first the long struggle between the King and Parliament, with Cromwell's final triumph, and again after the weak and dissolute reign of Charles II, and the less sagacious one of his brother, James II, the second revolution. After the reign of William and Mary came on the long struggles over the Spanish succession, in which all Europe was embroiled in wars that never seemed able to come to a lasting conclusion, but finally reached a basis of political equilibrium as the Seven Years' War closed, and Frederick the Great on the continent, and England on the ocean and in America came out with a strength that made useless all the combinations of France, Austria and Russia.

As the result of the policy of William Pitt England became master of North America. Louisburg fell into the hands of the English, Montcalm was defeated at Quebec, and the barrier that the French had erected at the Alleghany Mountains was broken. Both the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi were thrown open to the energy of the English and their

three million North American colonists. As the English historian Green well remarks, the English now felt for the first time that the Atlantic was but a comparatively narrow strait, with Englishmen on both sides, and that with control of both sides of the ocean, they might then easily reach across the much wider Pacific, and from that quarter control the East. The sense of power and exultation pervading the English in their triumph over France, is thus described by this well-known author. He says: "Not only had Pitt cut France off from the chance of rising into a world power, and prisoned her again within the limits of a single continent, but had won for England the place France had lost. From the close of the Seven Years' War it mattered little whether England counted for less or more with the nations around her. She was no longer a mere European power; she was no longer a rival of Germany or France. Her future action lay in a sphere wider than Europe. Mistress of Northern America, future mistress of India, claiming as her own the empire of the seas, Britain suddenly towered high above nations whose position in a single continent doomed them to comparative insignificance in the after history of the world."

After North America became securely the possession of England, in 1764, plans for the further discovery of the Pacific and its islands were energetically undertaken in England. The last important discoveries hitherto in the south seas were those of

the Dutch under Tasman, whose name, with that of Van Dieman, was connected with Australia, and gave rise to the old name New Holland for the great southern island or oceanic continent. But no settlements had followed these discoveries. The first effort of the English was an expedition to the Straits of Magellan, under Commodore Byron, who, however, scarcely more than doubled the cape. As showing the spirit of England, the following is cited from his instructions: "Nothing can redound more to the honor of this nation as a maritime power, to the dignity of the cause of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the trade and navigation thereof, than to make the discovery of countries hitherto unknown." While this is a little bombastic, and very much of a truism, it still shows how the English were beginning to appreciate the value of the Pacific. Whoever controlled the Pacific would be the world power. After Byron's voyage Captain Wallis was sent into the South Sea, and visited Tahiti. But the great voyager of the time was James Cook, to whom Green, in common with other English historians, attributes the honor of creating among the English the desire to possess the regions he explored.

The following is a fitting tribute, and is a good introduction to a more particular description of Cook's voyage in the northern Pacific. The historian says: "Wherever he touched, in New Zealand or Australia, he claimed the soil for the English crown.

The records which he published not only woke the interest of Englishmen in these far off islands, in their mighty reaches of deep blue waters, where islands as big as England die into mere specks on the huge expanse; in the coral reefs, the palms, the bread fruit of Tahiti, the tatooed natives of New Zealand, the gum trees and the kangaroos of the southern continent; but they familiarized them more and more with the sense of possession, with the notion that this strange world of wonders was their own, and that a new earth was open in the Pacific for the expansion of the English race."

Cook was a poor boy, raised on a farm in England, but while still very young entered service on an East Indiaman, and rising in favor, being a man of magnificent physical development, and of a very considerate disposition, was employed in positions of responsibility, and was sent at length to the St. Lawrence for making surveys at Quebec. In connection with the expedition of Wallis, interesting, but unscientific, observations of an eclipse were taken. The desirability of having exact data from the transit of Venus, to occur in the not distant future, gave rise to a proposition to send an expedition for the purpose to the same island of the tropics, pretty nearly England's antipodes. Cook volunteered to lead this, and his services were gladly accepted, as he was not only an able and careful navigator but an exact scientific observer and clear writer.

Once in the south seas, and having accomplished



CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

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his scientific mission, he undertook in this and a subsequent voyage further explorations of the seas and islands. He discovered New Zealand, and completed the discoveries of Tasman in Australia, naming a portion, at least, New South Wales. He discovered many hitherto unknown islands, the most important being the Hawaiian group, which he named for Lord Sandwich, who was a patron of the expedition. Greenhow, however, surmises, and perhaps correctly, that the Spanish already knew of this group, but had not published the discovery. These voyages and the narratives he published of them are of extreme interest, as being the first, perhaps, of that long series of exploring expeditions undertaken to every part of the world, both by Englishmen and Americans, and later by foreign governments; such as those of Livingstone, Grant, Speke, Baker, and Stanley, in Africa; Franklin, Kane, Hall and many others in the arctic regions; and the travels of Bayard Taylor in Sweden and Russia, Greece, and on the Nile; with lesser travels of an indefinite number, which engrossed the interest of statesmen and people alike, and set fire to the imagination of thousands of boys to go forth and occupy the world in wild lands, and which formed a new and great literature of their own. In no field has the pen showed its might over the sword more than in these semi-scientific, semi-story, books of travels, and to no one factor has Oregon owed more. It was to an expedition-loving people that Jefferson directed the movements

that he believed would extend civilization to the Pacific.

Cook having risen to the very first ranks of fame, was ready to be entrusted with any further commission. The object of his second expedition was to determine the limits of the Antarctic Ocean, south of Van Dieman's land, and to find whether the popular impression that there was a habitable southern continent, were correct. Having shown conclusively that there was none, he now found popular interest keen to set at final rest the question of the Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Explorations had been made in the meantime by Hearne, as we shall see later, in northwestern Canada, which showed that there was no such passage under the 65th degree. But the old belief was still persistent that the coast rounded off soon after that point was touched, and led the way for Englishmen through some passage near Mt. St. Elias. A reward of twenty thousand pounds was offered for the discovery of this passage, first from Hudson's Bay, and then from any point.

Cook offered to undertake this exploration, and with his old ship, the "Resolution," and another, the "Discovery," under Charles Clerke—the same name originally, no doubt, as Clarke—set out on July 12th, on his third and last voyage. He was instructed to proceed by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and by Tahiti and New Zealand, steer for the coast of New Albion—the term for the western coast

of North America indicating that Great Britain still retained all claims arising from Drake's discovery. He was not to touch at any South American port, or any part of the Spanish dominions, unless in case of necessity; and if compelled to do so, to give no cause for offense; also in his possible intercourse with settlements of any other nation—meaning the Russians—he was to maintain the strictest peace. He was directed to take possession of countries not claimed by any civilized nation for Great Britain, and to distribute among the natives evidences of such occupation; but if there were no native inhabitants to erect monuments. Possession, however, where natives existed, was to be only by their consent.

Among those shipping with Cook were two Americans, Gore, a native of Virginia, who on account of the murder of Cook, and the death later of Clerke, became commander on the return; and the other John Ledyard, of Connecticut, a most adventurous character, who had been sent as a youth to Dartmouth College, with the intention of becoming a missionary to the Indians. He had later left college, and floated down the Connecticut in a small boat, and had finally gone to England, where he arrived just in time to ship with Cook, and was made corporal of marines. We shall learn more of him later.

After passing the cape, and making further discoveries in the south seas, Cook steered for the American coast, and made the discovery of the

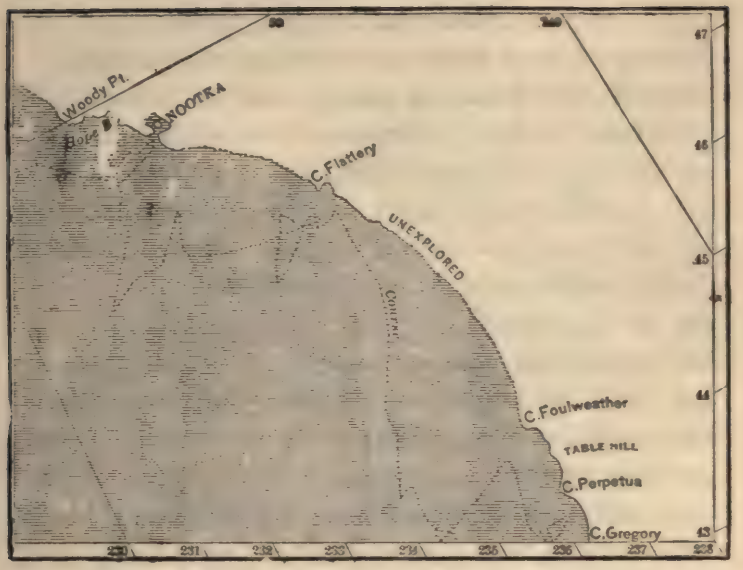
Hawaiian Islands. After leaving here, which as the cross roads of the Pacific have since his discovery been the haven of mariners, Cook steered directly for the American coast, and at length, on the 7th of March, sighted land. This was the coast of Oregon, and in latitude 44 degrees. Thus the great navigator rested his eyes upon the undulations of the forest-clad coast mountains of our State, and Oregon may claim both Cook and Drake as among her discoverers. England gave Oregon her best. Nevertheless the weather was tempestuous, and violent northerly, or northwest winds, such as sweep down the coast when the winds begin to change their course as spring approaches, forced the Englishmen nearly a hundred miles south, giving them the opportunity to see the Siskiyous, and possibly Shasta, if the sky were clear. Names were given to the headlands of Capes Perpetua and Foulweather. But the storm wore out at length, and squaring away to the north the latitude 47 degrees was gained, where Cook stood in shore to examine the old entrance reported of Juan de Fuca; but found the coast unbroken. Satisfied that the Spanish accounts were wrong, he sailed north, directly past the straits, without observing them, yet noticing Cape Flattery, to which he gave this name, as the weather had improved, and his prospects were more pleasing.

As it was the Northwest Passage that Cook was after, and as, if he had noticed the entrance to the straits, and had entered, he might have sailed many

days without learning that this was not Anian, and in any case would have made a discovery of the very first importance, we can almost imagine this shore to have been tricking the Europeans. Certainly the account of Fuca's discovery, current in England since the days of Elizabeth, erred just enough to throw Cook off of the track, and to allow him to sail contentedly northward to Vancouver's Island, where he discovered a commodious harbor, named by him Friendly Cove. Here he put in, and spent nearly all the month of April. It seems very remarkable again that such a keen observer, in daily and friendly intercourse with the natives, could spend so long a time almost within sight of the straits, and yet not learn of them. It gives probability to the parallel of Drake, that he spent his stay in New Albion at Bodega Bay, and learned nothing of the much greater harbor of San Francisco.

Cook gives interesting accounts of the natives, who came daily to trade. They brought skins of wolves, foxes, bears, deer, raccoons, polecats, martens, and "in particular, of the sea otters, which are found on the islands east of Kamschatka." He also adds, in his account, that besides the skins in their native state they brought garments made of fibers of bark, or some plant like hemp; that they had bows and arrows and spears; fishhooks and implements of various kinds; pieces of carved work, beads and thin strips of brass and iron, which they wore as ornaments; and also native chisels fashioned out of

iron. They were eager to get pieces of this metal, and sometimes took it without asking, but to them this was not stealing; as Cook's men went ashore and took wood and water without leave or payment. Cook notices this understanding of native property with some amusement, but also with great good sense, remarking that if he had known personally their demand of pay for wood and water, he should certainly have given it, and remarks that as it was they constantly reminded him of their generosity in giving him these necessaries, and in consequence asked favors *ad lib.* He was much impressed with their possession of brass and iron, and beads. One chief also had two silver spoons; they also showed no curiosity or fear of the ships, or the cannon, or muskets, and were very expert in the use and manufacture of iron. As in the case of Bodega, to Cook the possession of these things seemed to have dated from a considerable time. Possibly some of Konapee's iron, or money, had gone north, or other vessels had stranded in like manner on the coast of Vancouver's Island. Cook was rather pleased with the disposition of these people, and his list of the articles they had for trade shows that they were industrious and peaceable. He says that they were courteous, docile, and good-natured; quick to resent an injury, but quick to forget it. In this last particular Ledyard differs from Cook, estimating them as bold, sly, ferocious and reserved; not easily moved to anger, but revengeful in the extreme—which was



COOK'S MAP, 1778



much nearer their true character. None of the North American Indians are of a light or easy temper. Apparent neglect of an injury is but for the purpose of seeking opportunity later.

Following his instructions, which were to proceed north above the 65th degree, he sailed from Nootka, and pursued his discoveries with great skill and care, sighting Mt. Edgecomb, Mt. Fairweather, and Mt. St. Elias, discovering Cook's inlet, Dutch Harbor, and passing through Bering's Straits, and exploring the Arctic Ocean until stopped by ice, both on the American and Asiatic coast. He thus discredited at last the myth of the Northwest Passage, although if the openings in the coast at the Straits of Fuca had been known the demonstration would not have been complete until these were explored to their termination. He also found some Russians—or rather Ledyard found them—who were able, though not understanding English, to give him such information as they possessed of the coasts and islands—which was small and inaccurate. Returning to the Sandwich Islands Cook was there killed in a broil raised with the natives. Clerke pursued the explorations the next season, but found the ice worse in the Arctic, and himself being ill, sailed south, touching at Kamchatka, dying at Petropulaski, and the office of commander devolved on Gore.

Proceeding to Canton, Cook's men soon found that the furs that they had traded for scraps of iron, and old knives, or buttons, although in no good con-

dition, brought fabulous prices, and only by much persuasion were they restrained by their officers from returning and taking a full cargo. But the voyage to England was ordered, and the expedition arrived here in October, 1780.

So far as the geographical discoveries were concerned, the results of Cook's third voyage were negative and disappointing. He found that North America so far from favoring the English idea of a Northwest Passage, or breaking down above the 65th parallel, rose in range after range, and at about that degree bent westward. The whole coast, of which Oregon was the central part, turned its back on Europe, and where the land ended the ice began. Moreover, upon the return of the "Resolution" and "Discovery" it was found that the high hopes of the British in North America had been meeting with great reverses. Precisely contrary to the advice and entreaties of Pitt, the English Government had begun a system of repression in America very much resembling that of Spain, against which Elizabeth had protested, and the American Colonists who but ten years before had served with Braddock and Wolfe, and had stormed Louisburg, were now allied with the very nation they had helped oust from America, and France and Spain were also limiting England in the New World, as France had been limited at the end of the Seven Years' War. The records of the voyage were appropriated by the British Government, even that of Ledyard being included

in the reports of the commanding officers, and not allowed to see the light, and not until 1784-5 were they given to the public.

Nevertheless the essential facts were given out by the sailors, especially the great profits to be made in trade of furs direct to China. Of this more will come in place later. So far as it affected the British directly in the Pacific, it was by the way of India. Ever since the days of Elizabeth the English had engaged in trade around the Cape to Hindostan. The East India Company was chartered by that energetic sovereign in 1600. By Charles II its charter was greatly extended, and it was given the exclusive right to trade in India, to execute laws, to put out of the country any Englishmen trading on their own account, and to make war or peace with any sovereign not Christian. The result in the course of time was Clive, Lord of Plassey, the overthrow of French aspirations in the East even more completely than in America, and the beginning of the Indian Empire under the British crown. The South Sea Company had also been chartered, being like the East India Company a strict monopoly. Both together they had a complete control of the trade in the Pacific around both Cape of Good Hope and through the Straits of Magellan. But, in the interest of the other rising monopoly, the South Sea Company was not allowed to trade on the northwest coast of America. Neither was the East India Company allowed to send ships around the Cape for the purpose of trade east of the

longitude of Magellan's Straits. Besides, the vessels of the South Sea Company could not trade in China, the principal fur market.

These privileges and restrictions were based partly upon the bargaining of the English sovereigns, who were debtors to the monopolies, and partly upon the old idea that there was or might be a Northwest Passage, and if so, the English wished to control any trade of the northern Pacific direct. But as a result of these arbitrary restrictions, as soon as the value of the trade on the American coast began to appear, the English were at a great disadvantage. Practically no one except under the East India Company dared undertake it. But this company, already in possession of an empire, and in control of wealth so great that Clive being called upon to explain before Parliament his exactions, described the vast sums that lay at his disposal, and then exclaimed, "By ——, my Lords, I am surprised at my own moderation"—cared little for a new trade in America, neither did they care to risk a quarrel with the other company. The English that did desire to enter in the fur trade to the northwest, however, soon found a way around the difficulty, and began carrying on the trade under the Portuguese flag. A further advantage of this was that the Portuguese had special privileges among the Chinese.

The first mentioned is James Hanna, sailing from Macao in April and arriving at Nootka in August. He brought back furs worth more than twenty thou-



CAPTAIN NATHANIEL PORTLOCK



sand dollars. An attempt was made to start a regular line of packets to Kamchatka the next year. About the same time small ships from Calcutta and Bombay, under the flag of the East India Company, as mentioned by Greenhow, were sent to the northwest coast, Lowrie and Guise coming to Nootka, while two others, Meares and Tipping, went thence northward to Prince William's Sound. Meares remained over winter, but his crew suffered greatly from scurvy, and many died. A company in London, however, succeeded in obtaining a charter, and despatched an expedition around Cape Horn, to the northwest coast in 1785, with the intention of trading direct from this coast to Canton. These were under Captains Portlock and Dixon, the latter of whom has become remembered in connection with Dixon's entrance to Queen Charlotte's Sound. We find mentioned also Captains Duncan and Colnett on the coast in 1787, under the same company, that is King George's Sound Company. The insular character of the Alaska coast began now to be known, and for a time the stories of passages through to the Atlantic began to be credited again. By Captain Barclay, an Englishman, but sailing under the flag of the Austrian East India Company, for the purpose probably of avoiding the interferences of the British companies, the most important of all these discoveries was made—that of the entrance to the Straits of Fuca. This was in 1787; but Barclay did not attempt to follow up his discovery, and met with a

loss that made this out of question; this was the massacre of a boatload of men sent ashore at the same spot where Bodega's men had been killed in 1775; hence the name still found here—Destruction Island.

It will thus be noticed that within a comparatively short time after Cook's voyage a considerable number of British vessels were trading on the north Pacific Coast. Nootka, or King George's Sound, at the southern point of Vancouver Island, became the leading port of these expeditions. Notwithstanding some inconveniences, yet it seemed morally certain that the whole empire of the Pacific Ocean would fall to Great Britain, if it had not already done so. A title good enough to make good the claim to the many islands, or continental lands, by Cook; the success of the East India Company, and a rapidly growing trade at Nootka, and along the entire northwest coast, with no effective enemy in sight—Spain hardly counting as a power—lay the way open to a realization once more of the hopes that had been dashed by the successful revolt of the American colonies.

One long stretch of country, however, breasting the Pacific, was little known. It had proved of no interest to the Spanish, who sought only wealthy nations to bring under tribute; nor had it proved of much interest as yet to the British, who now were aroused only to gather furs. This country lay between Cape Flattery on the north, and a point a short distance above Cape Mendocino on the south. It was still the unknown land, Aguilar and Heceta

alone having looked closely upon its shores at any point. This chapter may well be closed with an account, as nearly as possible in his own words, of an Englishman who attempted to solve the problem of the mythical river. This was John Meares, who had sailed to Prince William's Sound, in Alaska, from Calcutta, and spent the winter on the coast. He had returned, and finding it less expensive made another venture under the Portuguese flag, with one Juan Cavallo as the ostensible proprietor. He sailed, with William Douglas, from Macao, China, in 1788, and arriving at Nootka was there allowed by Maquinna, the chief, to erect a house and leave a small garrison, while he himself sailed southward with the intention of learning more of the coast, and of determining the truth of the old Spanish accounts.

Near the end of June he sighted the entrance to the straits, and thus interestingly describes them: "At noon the latitude was 48 degrees 39 minutes north, at which time we had a complete view of an inlet, whose entrance appeared very extensive, bearing east-south-east, distant about six leagues. We endeavoured to keep up with the shore as much as possible, in order to have a perfect view of the land. This was an object of particular anxiety, as the part of the coast along which we were now sailing had not been seen by Captain Cook, and we knew no other navigator, said to have been this way, except Maurelle; and his chart, which we now had on board, convinced us that he either had never seen this part

of the coast, or that he had purposely misrepresented it. By three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the entrance of the great inlet, which appeared to be twelve or fourteen leagues broad. From the masthead it was observed to stretch to the east by north, and a clear and unbounded horizon was seen, in this direction, as far as the eye could reach. The strongest curiosity impelled us to enter this strait, which we shall call by the name of its original discoverer, John de Fuca."

Great as undoubtedly may have been the curiosity of Meares to enter the straits, it was not quite sufficient to make him do so. He sent, however, his mate, Mr. Duffin, in a boat, for some distance, and then after the latter's return, set off for the river St. Roc, in latitude 46 degrees 10 minutes. On the 5th of July he observed a headland, which he named Cape Shoalwater; and on the following day he reached the entrance of the river. His account is as follows, as given by Greenhow:

"At half-past ten, being within three leagues of Cape Shoalwater, we had a perfect view of it; and with the glasses we traced the line of the coast to the southward, which presented no opening that presented anything like an harbor. An high bluffy promontory bore off us southeast, at a distance of only four leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoalwater we should find some sort of harbor. We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and



CAPTAIN JOHN MEARES

we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape St. Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port. By half-past eleven we doubled this cape, at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious easterly swell rolled on the shore, and the sounding gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a hard sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation. The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at a great distance, and a flat level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck, right ahead, and from the masthead, they were observed to extend across the bay; we therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port. The name of Cape Disappointment was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title Deception Bay. By an indifferent meridian observation it lies in the latitude of 46 degrees ten minutes. . . .

" We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of St. Roc exists, as laid down in

the Spanish Charts. . . . We now reached the opposite side of the bay, where disappointment continued to accompany us; and being almost certain that we should find no place of shelter for the ship, we bore up for a distant headland, keeping our course within two miles of the shore."

The Columbia River was thus for a few hours in the grasp of the English as it had been in that of the Spanish, but a hasty conclusion of the Englishman, and no doubt, a wholesome caution of the breakers tumbling on the bar that July noon, disposed him to sail away for Tillamook head, which he called Cape Lookout, and to consider the Spanish hints as untrustworthy. If Meares had pursued either the discovery at the straits, or at the mouth of the river—for this was the Columbia—the final disposition of Oregon might have been more doubtful.

Meares' description of the river's mouth is fine and accurate. Over the lowlands the highlands of the coast mountains, with the fine culminating peak of Saddle Mountain, showing three almost perpendicular points, or chimneys, piercing a bright blue summer sky, form one of the finest of coastline views.

CHAPTER X

Russia in the Pacific

IN order to trace all the threads of influence, or possibility, it will be now necessary to go back about a century, and show what other nations were doing with the mysterious river of the West, and the mysterious land which it watered.

By priority of discoveries, and by contiguity of possessions, his Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, had the best claim to ownership, and the best chance to make good his claim. This had been successfully disputed, however, by the English, under Drake, and the English sea-rovers, and the name New Albion showed that the British did not intend to lower the Jack where it once had floated. North America from San Francisco Bay to the Straits of Fuca became as time passed more and more regarded as the territory of his Britannic majesty, and by the year 1763, when all of North America above the Spanish possessions, fell to England, with the fall of Montcalm at Quebec, the rising power, which was to rule the Indies and to be mistress of the ocean, looked upon America westward to the Pacific as almost a part of her dominion. Her claims were greatly strengthened by the discoveries of Cook, and the trade of the British merchants to the northwest coast. Nevertheless, the recognized key of the country, the discovery of the principal water course, had not been made. The English, like the Spaniards, had come to the very entrance of the great stream, but had gone away, on a bright July day, as the Spanish had done on one

of the summer halcyons, and had marked their attempt with the names of Deception and Disappointment.

But there was still another power, whose energy has been greater than that of Spain, and which is even yet competing with Great Britain for the name of World Power. This was Russia, and we shall see that this formidable state, half European and half Oriental, had the same claims, arising from discovery, and contiguity of possessions, as both Spain and England, and for more than a hundred years was disposed to assert those claims. Singularly, too, the greatest navigator in the Russian service, as Cook in the English, just missed the cruise that might have landed him within the waters of the fabled Oregon. He was a man far more experienced in the northern shores, and with the appearance of river-discolored waters, than either the Spanish or British, and if he had once come where both the English Meares and the Spanish Heceta arrived with their ships, he would probably have stood in, rather than off.

The advance of Russia has not been predatory, like that of Spain; nor colonial, like that of England; but expulsive, or explosive, like the envelopment of land masses by volcanic overflows; and accompanied by terror and sufferings almost as great as when populous regions are encompassed by the irresistible operations of destructive nature. The mass of her population are Oriental in their passiveness, and are strong only in bearing suffering. By themselves

they are only a prey to any tyrants that choose to oppress them, as for over two hundred years they yielded almost unresisting obedience to the Mongols, whose chief seat was on the banks of the Amur. The awful round of war, famine, fever, and poverty so deep that we cannot even imagine it, have for ages formed a character so stolid that it shrinks from nothing in the way either of labor or pain, but a mind also so far unused to self-direction as to seem in its enforced periods of thought or action as only partially sane.

But this mass has been since before the year 1000, except during the Mongol rule, of "the Golden Horde," ever animated and exasperated to remarkable deeds by the governing element that came from the west or north. This leaven, or rather fire, was a band of Norsemen who left their names unmistakably as far south as Kieff. The spark has been inextinguishable, and Russia is playing just the same as ever, the part of an expanding power. This may truly be said to result from suffering and terror, and the hope of relief from constant and unremitting, and even remediless evils at home. The passiveness of the people is so profound as to offer no check to the natural instincts of the Norse activity; and that activity has been thus allowed to expand and develop without regard to reason. Under Ivan I all the Russians submitted to baptism, and became Greek Catholics—in one day. What could have been accomplished in any other country

only by years, or centuries of teaching and persuasion, was accepted at a word from the emperor—though he was a monster of blood and lust. Ivan IV was obeyed just as willingly though he led his people to war and death year by year against the Poles and Turks, and rejoiced in the name of The Terrible. Peter the Great was able to introduce customs that had been hated from time immemorial by the old Muscovites, and to change the capital from Moscow to the sea. Finally, in our own day, we have seen Alexander, without serious opposition, free from serfdom half the population—an act accomplished in England, or English colonies, only after generations of philanthropic effort, and in America by more than half a century of agitation, and finally at the price of war that more than sunk all the worth of the slave's "unrequitted toil." On the other hand we find the character of the Russian rulers, though their policies have often been liberal, violent and passionate to the point of madness. We are not surprised to read of the early emperor that struck dead his own son with his iron staff; Peter, perhaps the greatest and best of all, was accustomed to passions that took almost the form of fits, contorting his features in a horrible fashion; and he also executed his feeble-bodied son Alexis. Being without any constitutional restraints, and growing morally deformed by lack of reasonable contact with their subjects, they have also become the objects of hate, either of their own relatives, who have the same blood, or

by outraged subjects, so that they have lived under the perpetual fear of assassination—a large proportion of them having so perished. Out of their fears have grown systematic tortures upon their people, and the knout and Siberia have eased their suspicions.

Two main policies have grown out of all this: one the Autocracy, which has grown to universality, even under the latest emperor, Nicholas III, who is stamping out liberty in Finland, although guaranteed by sacred compact; and territorial expansion. Foreign enterprise and war have been the only effective check upon domestic turmoil. Moreover, an inborn love of the sea, together with a more intelligent conception of the necessity of such a power maintaining ocean ports, has ever led the Norse-spirited czars to push their dominions south and west and east. Hence the Crimea was wrung from the Turks; the Neva was seized from Sweden; the country of the Caspian and Aral has been overrun, and even the Persian Gulf attained; Siberia was willingly accepted first from a Cossack who, by its conquest, regained lost favor; and not only the Amur, and Vladivostock, but Manchuria, and possibly Korea, have been added. Ideas, struggling in the form of passions, have thus ever dominated the Russian autocrats, and with a vast and prolific population, equal to any suffering and not knowing happiness at their command, they have for centuries menaced most of the inhabited part of the world.

It was from a Russian emperor that the Pacific Coast of North America was first looked upon as a possible and desirable addition. This was no other than Peter the Great himself, to whom so much of all that has followed in Russian policy must be referred. As concisely, and no doubt correctly stated by Greenhow: "In 1711 the whole of northern Asia had been completely subjugated by the Russians, to whom the rich furs abounding in those regions proved as attractive as the gold and silver of America to the Spaniards. In the course of their expeditions the Russians had traced the northern shore of Asia to a considerable distance from Europe, and had formed establishments on those of Kamchatka. But they had not yet, by their discoveries, afforded the means of determining whether Asia and America were united on the north, or were separated by the Icy Sea.

"By these conquests the Russians had secured a commerce carried on by caravans, according to a treaty concluded in 1689, passing between certain great marts in each empire. But the ambitious Czar Peter, who then filled the Russian throne, was not content with such acquisitions; he was anxious to know what territories lay beyond the sea bounding his dominions on the east, and whether he could not, by directing his forces in that way, invade the establishments of the French, the British, or the Spanish, in America. With these views he ordered that vessels should be built in Kamchatka, and equipped

for voyages of discovery, to be made according to plans he himself drew up; while at the same time vessels should proceed from Archangel, on the White Sea, eastward, to explore the ocean north of Europe and Asia, in search of a navigable communication, or northeast, passage through it from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

This was a great and bold conception, and shows Peter to have been one of the foremost minds of the age, in the way of understanding the bearing of the geographical discoveries of his day. The idea that there might be a practicable route north of Asia, by which he might command the Pacific, was a gleam of true genius. At this time, it should also be remembered, both the Spaniards and English were torpid in the Pacific. By the death of Peter, however, the brilliant design was delayed, until in 1728 his successor, Katharine I, who was also his widow, took it up once more. Katharine was a peasant girl, said to have had a great and good influence over Peter, and as tradition has it, saved him and his army from the Turks, when he had been outgeneraled and must have suffered a crushing defeat except for her clever intervention. A small vessel was completed at the mouth of the river Kamchatka, and the command of the expedition was given to Vitus Bering, who was a Dane, of great skill as a navigator, and had already been selected by Peter. Alexis Tchirikof, a Russian, and Martin Spangberg, a German, were selected as his mates.

On his first voyage, leaving Kamchatka, July 14, 1728, Bering succeeded in rounding the northeast cape of Asia, and found the shore trending westward, and the open Arctic Sea, extending indefinitely thither also. This shore presented to his view nothing but rocks and snow; to the eastward, or northeastward, he saw nothing but the sea, and rightly concluding that he had passed around the most eastern extremity of Asia, and being afraid of the ice closing upon his return course, went back to Kamchatka, arriving in September. He did not learn that the coast of North America was but a short distance from his northeast cape, and his name was not bestowed upon the straits until the gallant Cook, always ready to recognize another's dues, passed through the same waters more than fifty years later. It is of interest, however, to reflect that our Pacific Ocean was the scene of the exploits and labors of the best that the great Peter could select from the great Danish race of sailors.

The next year Bering attempted to reach the American coast by sailing southwest, but meeting with storms, was driven back into the sea of Okhotsk, Spangberg and Walton, from Okhotsk, discovered passages through the Kuriles to Japan, and a wrecked junk on the shores of Kamchatka proved that there was open water to the south. A Russian, Krupsichof, sailed in 1732 to the northeast point of Asia, and was thence driven by storms to the coast of a high and mountainous land, which was doubtless

America. Eight years later, the Empress Ann, having come to the throne, commissioned Bering to attempt another voyage of discovery, having two vessels, the "St. Peter" and "St. Paul," built for the purpose at Avatscha Bay, Kamchatka—usually called now Petropulaski—and furnishing him the best of instruments, and a competent body of learned men, among whom was Stellar, a German surgeon. Bering took command of the "St. Peter," and Tchirikof of the "St. Paul." They left on June 4, 1740, and the two ships kept together until the 21st, when they were separated by a storm, and did not again meet.

Bering sailed as far south as latitude 46 degrees, but what longitude is not stated. This, however, was almost precisely that of the mouth of the Columbia. But finding no land, he altered his course to the northeast, reaching at length on July 18, the shore of the continent, being directed, as the weather seems to have been fair, by the stupendous landmark of St. Elias, first seen eighty miles at sea. The St. Elias Alps, and still more conclusively a great abundance of stained water coming from the land, afforded certain proof that they were on the continental shores. The men of the expedition were all animated by the discovery, and most anxious to go southward and coast the country to the southeastward, whither it trended. As it was now but midsummer, when the fair northwest winds might be depended upon, it would have been but a matter of a few weeks to fall

20 degrees, and have ample time to examine the entire coast from Fuca to California. Some idea of this great opportunity was clearly present to the men; but Bering, now old and enfeebled by voyage, seems to have become imbued with an old man's caution, and not only refused to allow any of the men on shore, but also vetoed the wishes of his mates and men, and gave orders that the "St. Peter" steer away for Kamchatka. The voyage proved most miserable in its ending. A slow progress was made along the Aleutian Islands, and for two months they were driven at random over the sea. Stellar makes an entry in his journal, describing their perils and miseries: "The general distress and mortality increased so fast that not only the sick died but those who pretended to be healthy, when relieved from their post, fainted, or fell down dead; of which the scantiness of water, the want of biscuits and brandy; cold, wet, nakedness, vermin, and terror, were not the least causes." Finally, in November, finding an island, they determined to winter, and here Bering died. The remnant were compelled to make their escape the next year in a boat constructed out of the wreck of their ship, which came ashore and was dashed in pieces.

The expedition of Tchirikof was equally unsatisfactory. After parting with Bering he continued his course eastward, and at length found land in latitude 56 degrees, near Prince of Wales Archipelago. Sending a boat ashore with eight men, he waited in

vain for their return. A relief party of the same number, sent to find or assist the first, likewise never returned. Such an event seemed to justify Bering's caution, and, together with such massacres of the Spanish and English as at Destruction Island, indicate that the native Americans were not well disposed toward Europeans, and that the killing of the crew of the beeswax ship, said to have been wrecked at Ñehalem Bay, was not apochryphal. Scurvy was also weakening his crew; and retracing his course Tchirikof reached Ochotsk only after he had lost 21 men, including a distinguished French naturalist, Delile de Croyere.

Both these expeditions illustrate the insufficiency of the usual government expedition, where supplies are too often deteriorated by official peculation, or where the actual needs are little known, and but little provided for. All the voyages of those times were full of peril, no scientific means of providing good water, or scientific measures for combating scurvy, having been discovered. However, if Bering had been twelve years younger, and had taken the advice to sail south, and had thus passed the winter at San Francisco Bay, and had discovered the valuable furs of the northwest coast, it is possible that Russia might more nearly have realized the destiny in America that Humboldt predicted.

The only immediate results of these adventures of Bering and Tchirikof came from the efforts of individual seamen. The skins of the sea otters and

black foxes used on Bering's Island, where the winter was spent and the Dane died, were taken to Kamchatka, and sold for such high prices as to induce the sailors to return to the Aleutians and procure more. In this way a small trade, in the most insecure ships, or mere boats constructed of planks tied together with leather strings, or thongs, was carried on from island to island, until when in 1779 Cook visited Unalaska, and the courageous Ledyard undertook to look out the location of the white men that were told of by the Indians, considerable settlements were found almost to the mainland of America. But the trade was performed amidst almost inconceivable difficulties and hardships, and such losses as to have entirely discouraged any people less fatalistic than the Russians. It is said that about one-third of the vessels sent out among the islands were lost regularly every year. The disregard of human life that would persevere with equipments so inadequate can scarcely command our admiration, nor could the pecuniary profits be very great.

The furs collected by this precarious trade were destined for the Chinese markets. But the route from the Russian ports on the Pacific side was by land. From Avatscha and Ochotsk they were carried to Irkutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia, whence some were taken to Europe, but the greater portion were sent to Kiakta, a small town then just within the Russian frontier, close to the Chinese town of Maimatchin, the trade city established by

treaty with Russia. In return for the furs, which brought better prices in China than elsewhere, teas, rice, tobacco, porcelain, and cotton and silk goods were brought to Irkutsk, and thence for the most part sent to Europe. It was undoubtedly a profitable commerce, but accomplished only by the most long and tedious journeys, and at an expense of life and suffering that would now not be tolerable. However, it was a necessary first step in the more daring and humane trade directly from the northwest coast of America to China, which had such a bearing upon the fortunes and destiny of Oregon; for unless this slow and painful Russian commerce had been first established the Chinese would not have placed such a value upon our furs, not having acquired an estimate of this.

Not until Catharine II, a bold and daring princess from Anhhalt, but raised to the Russian throne, and for energy and acumen equal either to Elizabeth or Maria Theresa, did the Russian Government again prosecute discovery in America. In 1764, however, the empress gave orders that the plans of Peter the Great be taken up, and in two years later Lieutenant Synd sailed under orders, and is supposed to have reached America, but if so his discoveries were unimportant. After two years more two Russians, Kreniitzin and Lavaschef, left the Kamchatka River, and passed a winter among the Aleutian Islands; but this expedition was marked with such suffering from scurvy, due probably to insufficient and improper

food, that half the crew died; and Krenitzin distinguished himself chiefly by loading his own ship with furs. Lavaschef seems to have been more conscientious and prepared a valuable report on the methods of the fur trade. The very first furs taken directly by sea to China are said to have been by a party of Poles, who under their leader, Count Maurice de Renyowski, a Hungarian, escaped from Kamchatka, and cruised among the Aleutians, gathering furs in the ship they had built, and finally sailed away to Japan, and at last to China, disposing of their goods. This is but one of the hundreds of wild tales that might be revived in imagination from the shores of the North Pacific.

The Russians were the first to profit by the results of Cook's last voyage. In 1781, having gathered much information from Cook's vessels as they lay at the harbor of Petropovlaski, a company of Russian merchants of eastern Siberia and Kamchatka formed a company. The names of the leaders are given as Gregory Schelikoff and Ivan Golikoff; and under the former three vessels sailed in 1783 from Kamchatka to America. This coast was reached in a high latitude and several establishments were made on the island of Kadiak. Schelikoff is described as a man of great intrepidity and perseverance, well acquainted with his business, but unscrupulous and cruel. He and his followers are said to have treated the natives with great barbarity, putting to death whole tribes upon the slightest pretext



J. RUSSELL'S MAP

Reproduced from Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Publishers.

of advantage, or from mere wantonness. Such actions have left marks to this day upon the impressible savage. However, the Russian advance was continued, and in 1787 we find establishments made on Cook's River; and the next year two vessels sailed from Asia under Ismyloff and Betschareff, who advanced to the bay at the foot of Mt. St. Elias, and had a plan of going down the coast and occupying Nootka Sound.

Catharine was still anxious for furthering discovery on the American coast, and finding no available Russians, employed Joseph Billings, an Englishman, who was placed in command of an expedition from Okhotsk. But owing to long delays and lack of material for building the vessels, he did not sail for five years, making the voyage in 1790; even then he was poorly equipped, one of his vessels was lost soon, and with the other he proceeded no further than the bay near St. Elias. The next year two vessels sailed under Hall and Sarytschef, but made no advance over other explorers, and the record of the journey, made by one Martin Sauer, a German, is of the usual sufferings.

Although now reaching a point in time in advance of that treated when speaking of the Spanish and English, and after the Americans began to be seen in the Pacific, it will be advisable to finish the account here of the Russians in the Pacific. The Emperor Paul came to the throne, and although not a great ruler he was a man of ideas, and having read

the works of Humboldt, in which the destiny of Russia was declared to include the mastery of the northern Pacific and the coasts of America, is supposed to have been influenced thereby to forward the Russian establishments here. It was first decided to put an end to Schelikoff's company, on account of its cruelties to the natives; but was afterwards concluded to unite this with another under the name of the Russian-American Company, which was done in 1799; giving the concern the entire use and control for twenty years of the American coast from latitude 55 degrees to Bering's Straits. This latitude is important to remember as the first intimation of the part of the continent to which the Russian Government felt itself entitled.

This became a vigorous organization, and had the authority of a government of its own. It was apparently founded to a degree upon the idea of the English company, or monopoly. An establishment was made on Norfolk Sound in 1799, on the mainland, but this was destroyed by natives and some American deserters; and New Archangel, or Sitka, as now known, was then built on the island. Other establishments were made, and it was intended in 1806 to occupy the mouth of the Columbia, Russia at that time extending her claim on the coast to this point. The company seems to have proved a successful business venture, but so far as serving the ends of humanity is concerned, was no improvement over the old order. Although their charter especially pro-

vided that the natives should be treated with kindness, and converted to Christianity, the provisions were not carried out. Under arbitrary power, unrestricted and uninterpreted by the needs or voices of the people governed, humanity is invariably lost sight of, whether it be Spaniard, English, or Russian, that exerts the authority. The establishments were made chiefly upon the Aleutian Islands, and the natives who procured the furs, under white hunters, were brought thither from other and distant parts of North America, and knew neither the language nor customs of the other natives, and had no sympathy or understanding with them. This was, of course, as a security against insubordination or insurrection. The white men were enlisted in various parts of Siberia, or Kamchatka, for a term of years. They were known as adventurers, or Promuschleniks, and of much the same station as the Voyageurs, or servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.

These adventurers were employed according to the will of their superiors as soldiers, sailors, hunters, fishermen, or mechanics. It is stated by Greenhow that in the best of their situations their lot was more wretched than that of any other beings in the civilized world, and their miseries were only exceeded by those of the natives under them. This statement, though rather strong, seems to be based upon the reports of Krusenstern, who is quoted as saying that none but vagabonds and adventurers ever entered the company's service as Promuschleniks; that it was

their invariable destiny to pass a life of wretchedness in America; and that few had the good fortune to touch Russian ground again, and very few ever attained the object of their wishes by returning to Europe.

The chief agent of the company in America was Alexander Baranoff, who later figured so conspicuously in the plans of Astor. He is described as "shrewd, bold, enterprising and unfeeling; of iron frame and nerves, and the coarsest habits and manners. By his inflexible severity and energy he maintained his sway over America for over twenty years. He showed little respect for the directory of the company in Russia, and neither directory nor emperor knew of his operations without sending special agents." Partly for this reason, though also for scientific purposes two vessels were despatched from St. Petersburg in 1803, by way of Cape Horn, under the resolute and enlightened Krusenstern, who made a minute examination of the factories and state of trade, and found a very strong anti-Russian feeling in Japan and China. The bearing of this will appear later, as it was the ground of the profitable commerce of Americans, who furnished supplies to the Russians, and to whom there was no ill-will in China.

With one Von Resanoff, a plenipotentiary from Russia, we will close this abstract. Great interest attaches to his name, not from his character, because he seems to have been justly described as "singularly incompetent and ridiculous," but because it was

he who attempted to occupy the mouth of the Columbia River as a post of his company. The object of this was to find a point where supplies might be raised, and dependence upon the Americans be obviated. Some good point on the coast to the south was therefore to be looked for, and a station established. The Columbia River was deemed such a point, and an American ship, the "Juno," from Rhode Island, was purchased for the purpose. But as if it had some grudge against autocracy and monarchy in all its forms, the Columbia, when the expedition approached, swept aside their vessel, not now manned by Americans, and Resanoff went down to California, the settlement of Russian River being finally made, but never effected its object. The Russians still depended on Americans, and finally upon Oregon, for their wheat and flour.

As to the Russian claims, of which a résumé will be given later, the trade of Americans in the North Pacific was discussed with John Quincy Adams, then minister to Russia, and was spoken of as illicit. When Adams asked to what point down the coast it was deemed such, the reply of the Russian was from Bering's Straits southward to and beyond the mouth of the Columbia River. Although very friendly to Russia the American minister considered such a claim as little less than preposterous, and the negotiation terminated abruptly.

CHAPTER XI

The Dutch and French in the Pacific

ALTHOUGH the Russians, as seen in the last chapter, had their opportunity to discover, and even to possess without opposition the river and country for which any nation might now fight to the last, this was not the only one of the European States to which it might have gone, as it lay in the unexplored continent. The Dutch and the French also had the chance, and long before the question of sovereignty over Oregon was settled their vessels ploughed the waves of the Pacific. In this chapter an account will be given of the operations in regard to Oregon of both these nations.

The Dutch, after their long struggle with Spain, and final success, became the greatest of seafarers. Their power on the ocean rose so high that they dared enter any sea, and their ability as navigators exceeded that of their rivals. They had all the necessary daring, also, to attempt any chase around the world. As early as 1616 the Dutch navigators Lemaire and Van Schouten discovered the open sea south of the Straits of Magellan, and named Cape Horn after their native town. This discovery proved a great advantage to navigators, but a menace to the Spaniards, as it was now no longer so dangerous and difficult to pass into the Pacific, neither could the passage be guarded. The Dutch, who had no love of the Spaniards, quickly availed themselves of the opportunity to enter the forbidden sea, and in excursions deemed piratical by the Spanish, made a prey

of the vessels plying between Mexico and Manila. These pirates, or buccaneers, increased, and formed a regular combination. Sailing into the northern Pacific, they found at length a place well adapted as headquarters within the Gulf of California, on a bay called Pichilingue. Under the name of Pichilingues they made incursions along the Mexican coast, and as late as 1683 we find the Mexican governors making expeditions to rout them out and to collect pearls also, on the Vermilion Sea. How long they may have remained here, or where they went when finally abandoning this cove, we do not know. They, or their successors, may have continued for many years, degenerating at length into mere robbers. Possibly some of the strange tales of white men visiting their shores, or the sea islands, found among old traditions of the natives of the coast, or the South Sea, may be attributed to the remnants of these bands. The white complexions and red, or auburn, hair, noticed by first travelers, either on the American continent, or among the Polynesians, may, perhaps, be traced to such a source; as we have many accounts in later years of sailors cast away, and making their home with the natives, and usually rising to distinction in the tribe.

It is just possible, at least nearly enough so to be a suggestion for romance, that the traditionary ship of the Tillamook people, which came to Nekahni Mountain and there deposited a chest supposed to contain treasure, may be referred to a band of rovers



DUTCH MAP, 1624-5



such as the Pichilingues were in the seventeenth century. It is more than probable also that the coasts of California, and probably of Oregon, were well known to the freebooters long before their discovery by navigators or men of science.

The discoveries of Tasman have already been mentioned. Java, and other points in the East Indies were occupied by William of Orange, who became ruler of England in 1688. Dutch explorations were the first to ascend the coast of Asia northward, whence it would not have been difficult to cross to Oregon. However, no permanent establishments could have been expected from the Pichilingues, or any body of men of whatever nation, whose main object was simply to prey upon commerce, even though of an enemy. Moreover, shortly after establishing her colonies, the Netherlands reverted to a monarchical form of government, and thenceforth lapsed into the conservative methods belonging to such a form. After the greater part of the capital of a people has been invested in fixed conditions, and a fixed return must be safeguarded, the spirit of enterprise is likely to decline.

While therefore the Dutch had the opportunity, and for a time made the North Pacific the rendezvous of irregular enterprises, all results, whatever they may have been, were dissipated among their Spanish pursuers, or among the Indian tribes until both substance and name, and even nearly all remembrance have been lost.

As to the French no characterization of that great but decadent people need be made here. Composed of Gaul and Norman under Roman ideas, and with a romantic language, they have developed such clearness of thought and keen power of expression as to be content with little action. It is their boast that there is nothing that they cannot say—as it has become the boast of Americans that there is nothing they cannot do. What America owes to France is perfectly known. Champlain, one of the first minds of his age, stamped the French language and laws upon the communities of the St. Lawrence. La Salle, Marquette, and Joliet, and other missionaries, traders and explorers gave the basin of the great lakes and the upper Mississippi Valley to France, and a region still studded with French names and French progeny. Duquesne and Montcalm gave to America heroic names, and although England and her colonists wrested Canada and the control of North America from their hands, the astute minds at the French capital soon saw that it was but to separate the dominion finally from England. It was not a matter for surprise that within twenty years France gave to the United States the sovereignty that she was compelled to lay down at Quebec; and that along with Washington Americans honor La Fayette.

By right of priority and contiguity France had as good a right to Oregon as any European state. The contention has been made that the French actually knew and mapped the course of the Columbia. This

contention seems to have the sanction of so great an authority as Guizot. Whatever may have been the truth France had until 1764 the unquestioned ownership of Canada to the Rocky Mountains, and whatever lay beyond was free to her explorers. For a time also she had the Louisiana country, which extended to the borders of Oregon, and laid the way open to the Columbia; though the period of such ownership was not long enough to allow any extensive discoveries.

Aside from expeditions of French, or of Indians under the French jurisdiction, from Canada, to the Rocky Mountains or beyond, we have no accounts of early discovery by the Gallic nation. France has ever been so occupied with European politics, in which she has made great and often desperate efforts to retain the leadership, that she has seldom held ascendency on the sea. The Pacific, therefore, during the days when it was ruled by Spain, and was not visited by others except British or Dutch freebooters, was undisturbed by the prows of the French. Apparently not until 1785 was there any deliberate effort on the part of the King of France to explore or gain the honors or riches that abounded along the shores of the greatest ocean, or from the commerce that should float upon its waters. But when the results of Cook's last voyage became known, and especially after John Ledyard visited France, as we shall learn later in detail, Louis XVI, then on the throne, though discouraging the American, was so greatly

impressed with the possibilities and advantages now opened in the West as to plan an expedition of his own. It is said that the idea originated with him, and that he drew up with his own hand the greater part of the instructions before telling anyone of his intentions. While this gives him the credit of originality it does not do great honor to his wisdom; for the instructions were so detailed and required so many observations all over the ocean as to leave but small time for any one object. If all the time allotted had been spent upon a careful survey of the northwest coast, it is hardly doubtful that both the Straits of Fuca and the Columbia River would have been thoroughly examined by the French before any other nation had found them. This, moreover, was the special object of the voyage, his instructions reading particularly to " explore the parts of the northwest coast not visited by Cook, and of which the Russian accounts gave no idea, in order to obtain information respecting the fur trade, and also to learn whether in those unknown parts some river or internal sea might not be found communicating with Hudson's or Baffin's Bay."

In order to carry out his plan the king selected La Perouse, a naval officer who had begun his career as but a lad of thirteen, but had worked his way up, and had obtained much of his training and his reputation in American waters. He had served with distinction in the French fleet sent to assist the Americans in the war of Independence, and had also made

a bold expedition to Hudson's Bay, destroying the British posts there situated. He was now equipped with two vessels, the "Boussole," of which he held command in person, and the "Astrolabe," of which his lieutenant, De Langle, was in command. A corps of scientific men were also detailed for his assistance, and the entire outfit was intended to surpass the feats of Cook.

Leaving France in 1785 he had a prosperous voyage to the northwest coast, first sighting land in the high latitude of Mount Fairweather. The bay at which he anchored was called by him Port du Francais, and here the expedition remained a full month, refitting the ships, and trading with the natives, while the scientific section obtained a very large amount of information about the inhabitants, and animals and plants, of the continent. This was a point too far north, however, for the best objects of the voyage, and very small results to geographical knowledge were gained. The expedition was thus prejudiced and borne out of its natural objective by the idea of the fur trade, and the previous voyage of Cook. The king's idea was to explore the places that Cook did not see; but under the stress of Cook's example La Perouse managed to almost duplicate the Englishman's courses, and to entirely repeat his blunders.

After leaving Alaska he coasted southward, suspecting that Queen Charlotte's Island was separated from the continent, and passed Nootka Sound with-

out entering. He appears to have been too far at sea to notice the entrance of the straits just south, or to have seen the indications of the Columbia River. It was also summer time, being in August, as the same month with its mild winds from the northwest had served Heceta, and July had offered its brightest days for Meares, the Englishman. Nevertheless the mountainous coast, if seen at all at the distance, with such points as St. Helens and Hood, or Ranier, jutting up from the waves giving the idea of ruggedness and danger that the immediate shores, although rock-bound to a great extent, did not really offer, deterred the navigator from approaching, and he continued down to Monterey. In this, as in every one of the royal expeditions, we find the sailors almost culpably dependent upon precedent, and greatly oppressed with fear of a coast not charted. At Monterey exact calculations and descriptions of a port never to be French were completed, and then La Perouse quitted the coast, as it proved, forever.

Sailing across to Asia he made some interesting discoveries among the Japan Islands, and visited the Russians. At Kamchatka he was well received by the people with whom the French to the present day seem to have an affinity, and there De Lesseps, a scientific member of the party, was given permission and proper conveyance across Siberia to Europe. He carried with him the records of the voyage thus far, and it was fortunate that these valuable documents were thus transmitted. La Perouse himself,

with the two ships, sailed for the South Sea, meeting first with a massacre upon an island of part of the crew of the "Astrolabe," after which they entered Botany Bay, Australia; but after leaving this port neither vessel was heard of. Not until 1825, almost forty years, was any trace found. Then wreckage on the island of Vanikoro was seen by one Dillon, which Dumont d'Urville believed to be the relics of the ships of La Perouse. Thus a melancholy interest attaches to the voyage of the Frenchman, for whom we also feel a patriotic, or grateful regard. Still we must class him with all the other Europeans, Aguilar, Heceta, Meares, Cook, Krusenstern and Besaroff, whom the Columbia River terrorized by its formidable appearance, or whom our snow-capped mountains overawed by the indication of hidden dangers, and waved away. We can almost think that there was a secret sympathy between this rugged coast and the character of freemen, and that only when the real king came—the one who refused a crown in order to be a man—did the Columbia, and its guardian mountains extend a welcome.

CHAPTER XII

First Movements Westward by Land

IN the preceding chapters we have traced the efforts of various European countries to discover the "back parts of North America" from the sea, and have seen that Spain, England, Russia, and to some extent even the Dutch and the French, had sailed along these coasts, and had obtained considerable vague information mixed with much that was unwarranted inferences. We have seen that from these efforts quite a considerable fund of interest had accumulated in Europe, and had touched the thought and imagination, and had influenced the literature of the foremost nations. America had even before the existence of the American Union acted as a great emancipator, and a stimulant to Europe. Not only had her stores of gold and silver relieved the pecuniary impoverishment of the world, and made industry once more possible, and had made predatory wars less frequent, but the very thought that there was a new world, where conditions had not hardened into customs "heavy as frost," and where man might begin once more without the burden of useless or oppressive laws, led the great mass, who never could come to America, still to follow the adventures of those who did, and become Gullivers or Crusoes in imagination. Oregon, although passively, kept this possibility long open to the European mind.

But in order now to complete the chain of influences that led civilized men step by step towards Oregon, we must again return, and see what, if any-

thing, was being done on the land while the sailors were buffeting the northwest winds on their course towards the river, or the straits, whose premonition was felt long before their actual discovery. As we should naturally expect there were floating rumors of even the river, and of natives who had traveled by this stream to the Pacific. To the French, who explored the upper valley of the Mississippi first, we are indebted for the publication of these reports.

The French missionaries were great travelers, and cultivated terms of close friendship with the Indians. The priests became the friends and confessors of the Indian chiefs, and many of the French soldiers completed their alliances by marrying the chiefs' daughters, and prior to the French and Indian War France held the interior of North America. The St. Lawrence, and the basin of the Great Lakes, and the valley of the Mississippi, and as much westward as they chose, were their undisputed possessions.

Following the discoveries of La Salle, Marquette and Joliet, and other French missionaries or traders, were travelers who published accounts of the central valleys of America. Among these were Hennepin, La Hontin, and Charlevoix. The tribes and customs of the natives of the Missouri became well known. There are indications that the Pacific Coast Indians, such as the Flat Heads, Nez Perces, and Cayuses, were not originally in the habit of crossing the mountains to the buffalo country, as they did later after acquiring horses; or at least not so freely.

But it would be hardly possible that the roaming Indians of the Missouri Valley should not come in contact with natives of the upper Columbia Basin, and that these should not in turn tell them something of the rivers and routes of the lower Columbia, as they knew them from the coast tribes, or perhaps by actual travel.

We find indeed such traditions afloat among the Indians and collected by French writers. To quote one such account as condensed by Greenhow:

" The most distinct and apparently authentic of these Indian accounts of great rivers flowing from the central parts of North America to the Pacific, is that recorded by the French traveler Lepage Dupratz, as received from a native of the Yazoo country, named Moncachtabe. The amount of the statement is—that the Indian ascended the Missouri northwestward to its source, beyond which he found another great river, running towards the setting sun. This latter he descended to a considerable distance, though not to its termination, which he was prevented from reaching by wars among the tribes inhabiting the country on its banks; though he learned from a woman who had been made prisoner by the tribe with which he took part, that the river entered a great water, where ships had been seen, navigated by white men with beards. All this he related with many accompanying circumstances, tending to confirm the probability of the narrative; and there is," adds the historian naïvely, " nothing about it which

should induce us to reject it as false, except the parts respecting the ships and white men, which may have been an embellishment by Moncachtabe. The course of the supposed stream is laid down on several maps of North America, published about 1750, in which it is called The Great River of the West."

That part of the Indian's story which Greenhow considers an embellishment, that upon the great water were seen ships navigated by bearded white men, is perhaps the most likely to be authentic. In view of the accounts still preserved among the Clatsop Indians of wrecks on the shore, and particularly of Konapee, who may have been cast upon Clatsop beach as early as 1725, there is not only no improbability about stories of ships and white men in the Pacific, but that is the very circumstance which would be most impressive, and whose report would be sure to be carried farthest. We may therefore conclude on the authority of a very careful historian, that Moncachtabe's account was authentic; subsequent information, not known to Greenhow, eliminating whatever element of fiction he suspected in it.

Of much more important results, though perhaps less honest than the Indian stories, was the publication of an American, born and living during Colonial times, in Connecticut. This was Jonathan Carver, one of those restless enterprising characters, in which New England has abounded, and who became a soldier in the French and Indian war. He is said to have served with some credit, especially about



CARVER'S MAP, 1778

lakes Champlain and George. Soon after the war was over, in 1766, he set out west, with the intention of studying Indian tribes and customs, and of crossing the American continent, to ascertain its width. This would seem to have been entirely a conception of his own, though he was aware that much benefit might result to the English. His idea would seem to have been that if he should find the route across the continent, a military establishment would be placed on the Pacific side by the English; and no doubt he might himself be given the command. He seems to have been the spiritual progenitor of such geographical agitators as Hall J. Kelley, or John Ledyard.

He states his object, in the introduction to his narrative, as follows: "After gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil and natural productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, to ascertain the breadth of the vast continent which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadest part, between the 43d and 46th degrees of north latitude. . . . Had I been able to accomplish this I intended to have proposed to the government to establish a post in some of those parts, about the Strait of Anian, which, having been discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belongs to the English. This, I am convinced, would greatly facilitate the discovery of a northwest passage, or communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean."

He went west by the way of the great lakes to Mackinaw and thence into Wisconsin, and intended to carry a stock of goods and pursue his way by peaceful trade with the natives. But in this Yankee bit of enterprise he was disappointed, not being able to obtain his goods, and remained some two years among Indians whom he calls Naudowessies, Assinipoils, and Killistinoes. It has been disputed that he actually spent his time with them in the regions claimed by him, as the Naudowessies must have been the Dakotas. But how he obtained the name Assiniboine—Assinipoil—is not explained. He claims that he here learned of a great river flowing into the Pacific Ocean, which he calls the Oregon, or Origan, or river of the West. He is quoted as saying: "From these nations and my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers on the continent of North America, viz., the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon—Red River of the North and the Oregon (as I hinted in my introduction)—have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther west. This shows that these parts are highest in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled in the other three quarters of the world, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together, and each, after running a separate course, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of two thousand miles from

their sources; for in their passage from this spot to the bay of St. Lawrence on the east, to the bay of Mexico south, to Hudson's Bay north, and to the Straits of Anian west, each of these traverses upwards of two thousand miles."

This elevated part is described by Carver as near the "Shining Mountains," which begin at Mexico, and continuing northward on the back, or east of California, separate the waters of those numerous rivers that fall into the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of California. From thence, continuing their course still northward, between the sources of the Mississippi and the rivers that run into the South Sea, these mountains appear to end in about 47 or 48 degrees of north latitude, where a number of rivers arise, and empty themselves either into the South Sea, into Hudson's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between these two seas.

In his introduction Carver speaks of "the situation of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the center of the great continent; viz., the River Bourbon, which empties itself into Hudson's Bay, the waters of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Oregon, or River of the West, that falls into the Pacific, at the Straits of Anian."

Another quotation is made from the conclusion of his work, in which he alludes to his purpose to cross the American continent and proceed up "the River St. Peter, and from thence up a branch of the River

Mesorie, till, having discovered the source of the Oregon, or River of the West, on the other side of the summit of the lands that divide the waters which fall into the Gulf of Mexico from those that fall into the Pacific Ocean, they would have sailed down that river to the place where it is said to empty itself, near the Strait of Anian."

After finding himself unable, on his own account, to pursue the discoveries that he planned, Carver returned, and went to London. He attempted to interest the English Government in exploration, and finally, at the instance of friends, wrote his book to relieve his wants. The book is thus described: "Travels Throughout the Interior Parts of North America—1766-8, by Jonathan Carver, London, 1778." It consists of an introduction, showing what the author had done, and wished to do; a journal of his travels, with descriptions of the countries visited; and an "account of the origin, habits, religion and languages of the Indians about the upper Mississippi."

By Greenhow, Carver's work, or rather its honesty, is severely criticised, and he states that the latter part, occupying two-thirds of the volume, is extracted almost entirely from the French journals and histories. It is deemed, therefore, that Carver added little or nothing to what had already been made known by the French, if indeed he did not owe to them the greater part of his ideas. This is probably too severe, and it must be remembered that

Carver was in very poor circumstances, and felt under the necessity of making a readable book, of sufficient size to command a reasonable price; being advised to do so by friends, or patrons, who were probably becoming weary of providing for him. Under such circumstances he would depend on any source of information to fill up his book, and make it seem important. He did at least bring to the British public some ideas not yet understood, and must be credited with extending knowledge of Oregon, whatever the sources of his information. He lived, also, in the troubled times of the Revolutionary War, when plagiarism from the French would be of little harm in English eyes, and when an American would be obliged to make concessions to English opinion in order to meet with success in London. He died at that capital, in 1780, in poverty.

The most interesting question seems to be how he became possessed of the name Oregon, which was given by him to the River of the West. If the name were of Pacific Coast origin, this would itself indicate that he had received some accurate information from some source of the river. All attempts, however, to give what is now the name of our State, any Pacific Coast origin, seem to be without foundation. Many conjectures have been made. It has been identified with the Spanish word for Sweet Marjoram, but not to precede the use of the word by Carver. Also by some Spanish writers it seems to have been referred to the Spanish words for Big Ears, from the

custom said to have been seen among the Indians here of wearing shells in the ears. The Indian word for Ourigan, from which the Spanish derived hurricane, has also been suggested.

The conjecture of Greenhow is that Carver simply invented the word, in order to make some sort of positive addition to the knowledge of the French map-makers. This may have been the fact; or he may have used, or transposed, some Indian word that he heard. Nothing is more common, or amusing, than the variations found in the journals of travelers of Indian names. Lewis and Clark call the word which must evidently have been Tumtum, Tims; Samuel Parker spells the Indian word Kloshe, Tois; and Franchere makes of the plain name Ramsay, Li Mansee (L'Mansee). Carver seems to have been a man of certain general broad ideas, and fond of drawing broad conclusions; but very inaccurate both in conception and statement, as when he refers to the Straits of Anian being discovered by Drake. How he came by the word "Mesorie" does not seem explained, or of "Assinipoils." If, however, the story of the Indians, of which that of Moncachtabe is deemed authentic, are allowed as having a basis in fact, it would not be out of Carver's reach to get a name that had been brought by Indians across the continent; and if this were probable, no name would be more likely to pass than that of the white man Konapee; and one might imagine that, with certain other syllables, this became the foundation of the

name. Though this is mere conjecture, and there seems little use to look for an analogy in the loose pages of the Connecticut traveler, it is pleasanter to think of the name, like that of the unexplained term California, as having no other significance than what it has derived from actual history, and what it shall mean in the future. Like the Straits of Fuca, or even the fine name America, it may have had a very trivial or fictitious character in its beginning, but has already obtained significance from what it now stands for.

Yet we cannot but consider Jonathan Carver as a very respectable and useful figure in the course of civilization westward, and must thank him, if he invented our name, for having composed a fine and musical word.

But shortly after Carver's travels the Hudson's Bay Fur Company, which had been sitting very quietly at the mouth of the bay, began to suffer under the criticisms that they were making no proper examinations of the territory over which they had been given control, and that they felt no interest in prosecuting discoveries, and roused itself sufficiently to start Samuel Hearne upon a series of valuable discoveries west of Hudson's Bay. The company seems to have had no confidence in any passage across America, but was willing to disprove the popular belief.

Between 1769 and 1772 Hearne made three expeditions from Fort Prince of Wales, and though very

correctly described by Bancroft as pursuing "his grumbling way," succeeded at last in completing his task, and making positive additions to geographical knowledge, and all but disposing of the myth of Anian Straits. He discovered the Great Slave Lake, and others of the chain of fresh waters in the north, and traced the Coppermine River to tidewater, in latitude reckoned by him as high as 72 degrees. Learning that the continent stretched still westward and rose into high mountains, he concluded that this sea was another body much like Hudson's Bay, and that there was no connection by sea between the two. He considered this as proving that there was no connection between the Pacific and Hudson's Bay. His discovery did not warrant the conclusion, which is, however, essentially correct; what he did prove was that if there were any passage it must be to the westward of the mouth of the Coppermine.

About the same time that Hearne was making these explorations for the Hudson's Bay Company the Canadian merchants were beginning to infringe upon the exclusive rights of the monopoly in the country about the Great Lakes, and to the westward. This territory was not clearly within the grant of the Hudson's Bay Company, but its occupation and use by any other was greatly to the impairment of their exclusive advantages. The company had become very inert, and after a great scourge of the smallpox, which decimated the farther tribes, had restricted its operations to the region immediately surrounding

Hudson's Bay, and on the St. Lawrence. After the fall of Quebec, therefore, and the passage of Canada to the power of Great Britain, the Canadians began actively to despatch parties and collect furs as far west as the Saskatchewan and Athabasca. This introduced a new and much more energetic element into the fur trade, which was destined to send the British influence across the continent and all but secure the empire of the Pacific to the British crown.

Individually for almost ten years, each on his own account, the fur traders of Montreal sent their parties west, but soon found that they could not cope alone with the English company, which had its chief factories on Hudson's Bay. The only alternative of going out of business was for the individual merchants to unite, and present a common front to their common enemy. This was done in 1784, under the name of the Northwest Company of Montreal. This was the beginning of the celebrated Northwesters, who in reality, though under another name, occupied the Columbia River Valley, and furnished Oregon some of her best and most active men. This company was organized upon a basis of mutual interests, and was largely co-operative in many of its features. The shares of stock were but sixteen in number at first, but were successively increased to twenty and to forty. A certain portion of these shares were held by the resident capitalists at Montreal, and the rest were distributed among partners, who went to the fur country and had command of the trading posts.

It was thus to the interest of each partner to make the business as profitable as possible. Under the partners was a corps of clerks, who dealt with the Indians, served for a term of years, and had the opportunity of rising to the position of partner, if the business prospered. There were also guides, interpreters and voyageurs, who were under a discipline as good as military.

Being ready for business the Northwest Company was prepared to take the initiative, and press its competition to the utmost of success, even if that led to the other shore. One of the first things to be done was to determine the extent of the country claimed as open to their enterprise, the tributaries of which did not flow into Hudson's Bay, but into the Arctic Ocean, or the Pacific. The man selected to make these examinations was one of the most resolute and sagacious among the promoters of industry, Alexander MacKenzie, a partner in charge at Fort Chipewayan, the western outpost of the company, and situated on the southwest side of Lake Athabasca. Parties from this post had already penetrated west as far as the Rocky Mountains, but were unable to cross the divide. Greenhow quotes an interesting document from the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of a party of about one hundred making this excursion. The tribes through which they passed were " the Muskego, Shipewayan, Cithnistinee, Great-Belly, Beaver, Blood, Blackfeet, Snake, Ossnobian, Shiveyton, Mandon, Paunee, and several



ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

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others." In pursuing the route no difficulty was found in finding guides, until they reached the Shining Mountains, or Mountains of Bright Stones; but here they found hostiles, and could not proceed. The above is interesting as showing the genesis of the name Rocky Mountains. From the term shining mountains, as distinguished from timbered ranges, the name of bright stones arose, and for some time the term Stony Mountains was employed; and from this, the Americans always choosing the name indicating large rather than small sizes, arose the more imposing name of Rocky Mountains.

MacKenzie's first expedition was made in 1789, and led down the river toward the north to Great Slave Lake, which Hearne had seen, and from that down the outlet, which MacKenzie discovered and gave to it his own name; and down that great stream to its mouth upon the Arctic. The journey was made in bark canoes, and consumed three months, from June until September. He thus advanced knowledge of the Arctic Coast about five hundred miles west, and reached the conclusion that if there were any strait, or passage leading from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific it must be west of the mouth of the MacKenzie.

His great and most far-reaching labor was to explore the breadth of the continent, going west. If he should come to the Pacific Ocean without crossing any straits that would prove conclusively that none existed south of the track of his journey. One is al-

most startled by the title of his narrative, " A Voyage across North America "; naturally supposing that the hypothesis of a strait had proven well-grounded, and that he went in a ship. But the " voyage " was accomplished in birch-bark canoes, and often up or down the most violent streams. But MacKenzie was an intrepid traveler, and was always attended by good fortune. His account is well written and exceedingly interesting, and carries the sympathy of the reader like a romance.

He started in the autumn of 1792, and wintered near the foothills of the Rockies. The next season he continued his journey, proceeding up Peace River, and crossed the divide to the waters of the Fraser, which, however, he supposed was the Columbia until 1812; and went by the name Tacoutchee Tesse. In July he emerged upon the Pacific, and then returned to Fort Chippewayan the same season. He saw the Pacific in latitude 52 degrees 20 minutes, and thought it well proved that there was no passage across North America short of Bering's Straits. Certainly he must ever have the credit of advancing geographical knowledge in North America over a wider area than perhaps any one single person. His recommendations in regard to the fur trade were also so well conceived that they carried weight among all the persons addressed, and as said by the American historian " the result has been the extension of British commerce and dominion throughout the whole northern section of America."

England looked with great satisfaction upon these enterprises of the intrepid Northwesters, and although, as we shall learn elsewhere, the two British companies came into open collision nothing was done at first, nor for some years, to check the quarrel. A conflict, even amounting to bloody battles, only led to the more thorough occupation of the country by British subjects. Upon this England relied unhesitatingly to secure the occupation and commercial uses of the unclaimed portion of North America, and looked upon her full sovereignty over the territory by the Pacific as merely a question of time, and anticipated the same course of events that has made India, Australasia, and South Africa a part of her empire.

CHAPTER XIII

Final Step in British Discovery

THE history has now reached one of those intricate periods when the threads have become interwoven, and to some extent tangled. It will be advisable to devote this chapter principally to the final discoveries of the British, which were very complete, and to their mind made a perfect claim to any occupation and settlement that the subjects of the British sovereign might choose to undertake.

In order that we may understand the reasons why this expedition was sent, and see the bearing of the allusions constantly made it will be useful to preface this chapter with a very short statement of the operations of the Spanish and of some American ships on the coast. The operations and discoveries of the Americans will be followed in detail in the second volume. This chapter will follow the course of English discovery up to the close of 1793, or practically to the end of the eighteenth century. It will show the English Government to have acted with energy, and her subjects to have performed instructions with marked ability and success, and that the dominion of the Pacific, contended for from the days of Queen Elizabeth and her bold knight Drake, was now clearly within her reach.

As indicated in the chapter describing the voyage of Cook and the trading expeditions of Meares and other Englishmen, the profits to be derived from the fur trade on the northwest coast, led a number of English ships, and also some Americans—as will be

shown in detail—to trade from Nootka Sound to China. Meares was one of the most conspicuous of the English, although he sailed under the Portuguese flag. He made a small establishment at Nootka, and even afterwards claimed this for English territory on the strength of his purchase from Maquinna, the Indian chief. On the Spanish theory, not yet discarded, any settlement on the shores of the Pacific by a foreigner was an act of offense, and any vessel sailing on other than Spanish permission, might be seized for piracy. In 1788 Esteven Martinez and Gonzalo Haro were sent as far north as Alaska peninsula to look after the Russians. The next year they were sent to Nootka to assert the Spanish sovereignty and to seize any Russian or English ships found there. Martinez arrested the captain, Viana, and Douglas, supercargo, of the English ship "Iphigenia," under Portuguese colors. The "Washington" and "Columbia," American craft, arriving later, were not disturbed. Later in the season the British vessel "Argonaut," under Colnett, was also seized, and Colnett was sent to Mexico, being treated, besides, in such a manner as to bring on delirium, or an attack of insanity, to which he was said to be subject. The "Princess Royal" and the schooner "Northwest America" were also seized and their officers made prisoners. One exasperating feature of the arrests was that the officers were at first treated by Martinez in a friendly manner, and the supplies necessary furnished, and upon being invited aboard the



QUEEN ELIZABETH

Spanish vessels, were declared prisoners, and their vessels prizes. The schooner was actually taken and employed two years by a Spanish crew and officers.

When, in 1790, these events became known in England great excitement prevailed, and immediate preparations for war were made. Spain also seemed for a time ready to fight for her old claims in the Pacific; but after some months of parley an agreement was reached which was considered advantageous to both countries. This was the, at the time famous, Nootka Convention—or Convention of the Escurial. The inciting cause of this agreement was the rising power of France, just ready to set at defiance all the traditionary policies of Europe, and England and Spain, as the guardians of Prerogative, could not afford to stand apart on the eve of the Napoleonic wars, clearly foreseen. Those momentous European events had even thus early begun to throw their shadow across the world as far as the Pacific Ocean, and Oregon no doubt owes much of its present political relations to the fact that the most energetic power of the world did not find it opportune to make an excuse of the acts of bravado of Esteven Martinez, and seize the coast of North America from Bering's Straits down to the Gulf of California, and thus make a claim for territory taken by war which she would never have willingly given up.

By this convention the ships seized by the Spanish were to be restored, the British establishment at Nootka was to be given up, and the right of the Eng-

lish to fish and trade in the Pacific, and to settle in any places north of those already occupied by the Spanish, was recognized. This was a great concession to the English; but the Spanish also reserved the right to settle on unoccupied territory, and the right of the English to settle on certain points of South America, to trade with Spanish subjects, or to fish—as they were then promoting whale fishing in the Pacific—within a certain distance of the Spanish settlements, was also denied.

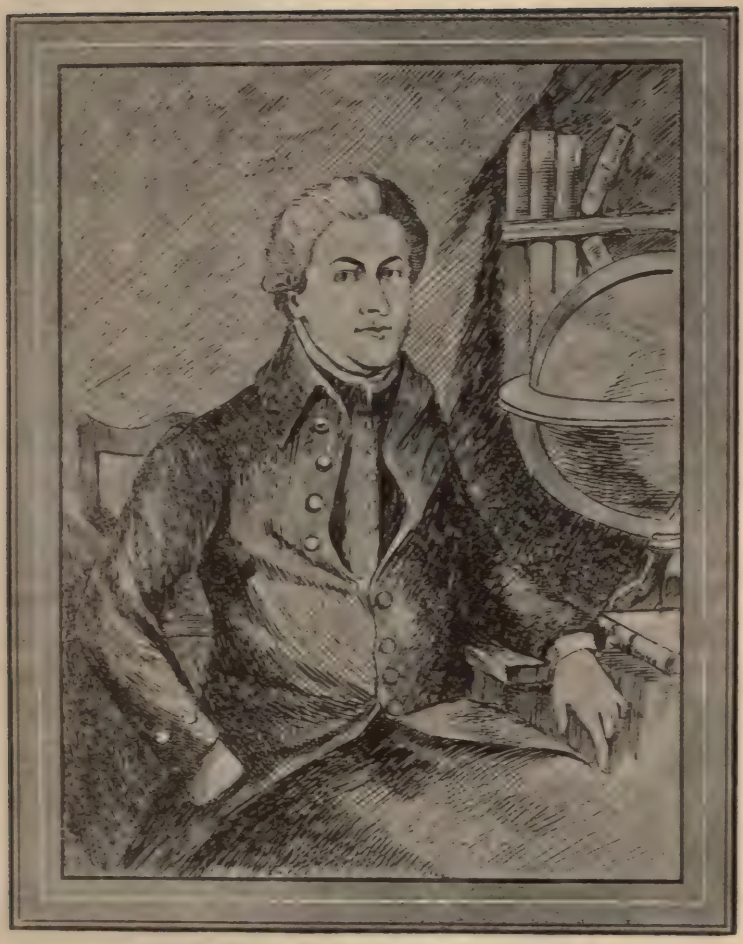
These latter restrictions were a great advantage to Spain, and showed perfectly her intentions in regard to the Pacific Ocean and its shores. She wished to retain her colonies for her own exclusive trade and benefit, and cared little provided the English could be kept from her ports. She had no conception of taking an unimproved and uninhabited country and settling and developing it, and creating a business and social organization. Nature, with all its resources, was still useless to the Spaniard, and transcended his powers of either utility or enjoyment. But as by the provisions of this agreement the British should not fish within ten leagues of places already occupied further complications might arise. The north limit of Spanish occupation was not fixed. As a result new activity was shown by the Spanish Government to occupy places at or above the Straits of Fuca. Elisa, succeeding Martinez, prepared in 1790 to make a permanent settlement at Nootka. Salvador Fidalgo, whose name is commemorated in

the island in the Sound, was sent north to look after the Russians. A lieutenant, Quimper, was also sent by Elisa to explore the Straits of Fuca, and sailed up about 100 miles, seeing the strait divide and separate into numerous channels both south and north, with apparent unbroken stretches eastward. The Canal de Haro still bears the name bestowed by the Spanish navigator. The next year Alexandro Malaspina sailed into Southern Alaska, for the Spanish crown, himself being an Italian. The same year, also, Etienne Marchand, a Frenchman, examined the coast from latitude 56 degrees as far south as the Straits of Fuca. It is stated also that by this time as many as nine English and seven American vessels were trading on the northwest coast.

All these events and conditions made it imperative upon the British Government to send a well equipped expedition to the northwest coast, and follow up energetically the rights acquired by the understanding with the Spanish. It must be allowed that the English acted with vigor and discretion. In order to fulfill the first article of the agreement a representative from Spain and England were to meet at Nootka, and decide upon what buildings and grounds were to be restored to the English, and how much indemnification they should receive. The voyages and discoveries of the Americans were also a subject of concern to the English. Much interest was aroused again by the publication of a pamphlet by Meares on " The probable existence of a northwest passage "—the

discoveries of MacKenzie not having yet been made. In this pamphlet he stated that the American schooner "Washington" sailed through the Straits of Fuca and into a sea extending through eight degrees of latitude to the north. He declares that this was told him by an English captain, Neville, who had the information from Kendrick, who commanded the "Washington." He concluded therefore that the northwestern part of North America was composed of islands, or was one vast archipelago. He drew a map illustrating his idea, showing hypothetically the islands of Vancouver and Queen Charlotte's, and the waters eastward, and no land, or a congeries of islands eastward and northward. These conclusions were ridiculed by Dixon, another English trader who had been on the northwest coast; but, nevertheless, produced so profound an impression in London that it was one of the chief objects of the expedition to ascertain the truth of these reports.

Captain George Vancouver was selected to command the expedition, and was also to act as the commissioner of England at Nootka. A more capable or faithful commander could not have been selected, as he was not only a careful seaman, but was a man of much moderation, and wholly devoted to the purposes of the British Government. His national characteristics, indeed, appear with almost amusing ingenuousness. He could not act, or even think, or conceive otherwise than in the British interest. His preconceptions of what he should see and discover,



CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER



and that this should be wholly favorable to the English aspirations, dominated not only his reports, but even his observations. He looked strictly through English eyes.

His reports, however, are admirably clear, show perfectly his course of thought as well as his routes from day to day, and are among the most interesting of the works of travel. A somewhat detailed account will now be given of his discoveries on the Oregon coast; and the strong personality of the man, and the force and persistence of the results from his discoveries may be inferred from the names of the leading landmarks of both Washington and Oregon bestowed by him, or his lieutenant. Mounts Baker, Ranier, St. Helens, and Hood, were seen and named by him; and Gray's Bay on the Columbia, and Baker's Bay, just within Cape Hancock, are among the insignia of his exploration. Puget's Sound, itself, Hood's Canal, and many other points also bear his impress on the map, or tongue; and Puget and Menzies of his expedition, have quite a progeny of geographical or scientific appellations following their steps on this coast.

Vancouver was instructed to examine and survey the whole shores of the American continent on the Pacific, from latitude 35 degrees to 60 degrees; "to ascertain particularly the number, situation, and extent of the settlements of civilized nations within these limits; and especially to acquire information as to the nature and direction of any water passage

which might serve as a channel of communication between that side of America and the territories on the Atlantic side occupied by the British subjects." He was to "examine particularly the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, said to be situated between the 48th and 49th parallel of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop "Washington is said to have sailed, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka."

Vancouver, with a well equipped ship, and a scientific and literary department, sailed from England in January of 1791. The name of his vessel, of some four hundred tons, was the "Discovery." He was accompanied by Lieutenant Broughton, in the brig "Chatham," which was much smaller. Broughton, partly on account of the less draught of his craft, and partly on account of his address and capacity, was often detailed to the more adventurous parts of the service. A supply ship, the "Daedalus," was also despatched somewhat later, direct for Nootka, bearing instructions for procedure at that port.

After a prosperous voyage from England to the Sandwich Islands they were ready to put out upon the waters of the Northern Pacific, and reach for the shores of New Albion. This was the 17th of March, and the season was well calculated to bring them with expedition to North America, as the south winds had not yet ceased blowing every few days, nor the northeast winds become established. On April 7 it is recorded that the weather was gloomy, with a smooth

sea, and the ship was in latitude 35 degrees. On the tenth the south wind began to blow, a hazy sky portended a storm, but this provided just the wind needed, and a course easterly was laid. Within a few days the wind rose to a gale, and thick rainy weather came on. On the seventeenth driftwood was seen, and later the shores of the continent began to appear over the still agitated and misty waters. This "was straight and unbroken, and of a moderate height, with mountainous land behind, covered with stately forest trees." It was off California, in latitude 39 degrees. The weather soon cleared and all the next day the voyagers were delighted with examination over a sunny sea of the forested heights and the bald hills overhanging the shore, now beautifully green. On the nineteenth, Cape Mendocino was passed, picturesquely described as formed by two high promontories, ten miles apart. "Off the cape lie some rocky islets and sunken rocks." This was the stormy cape of the Spaniards, and had for years been sighted with both hope and fear by the scurvy crews from Manila. The reputation of the place was sustained to the English explorers, a gale coming on soon after passing, bringing about midnight torrents of rain, with seas so high that a part of the ship's head railing was carried away. This continued several days, until on the twenty-fourth, the shores of Oregon began to loom to view. The headland seen was that named by Vancouver Cape Orford, after the English earl. The wind was favorable, but the air hazy;

yet some natives being seen approaching time was spent to receive them on board. They came out in canoes on the open sea, showing that they were a race of sailors. They were described as of a pleasing appearance, entirely friendly, and altogether different from the Nootkans. The men stood about five and a half feet tall in their moccasins.

The same hazy weather continued up the coast, but not thick enough to greatly obscure its appearance, and it is very accurately described as follows: "The face of the country is much checkered; in some places covered with a flowing verdure; in others occupied with barren rocks and sand; but in some very thickly wooded." This checkered appearance is still maintained, and shows that in the lapse of a century just about the same conditions of alternating bare and forested lands have prevailed.

On sunset of the twenty-sixth—which shows that they had been making a fair rate of sailing, and certainly could not have stopped much to examine the small bays along the Oregon coast, they brought up in sight of "the coast which had been seen by Mr. Meares." As this stretch was that in which the entrance to a great river had been reported by Heceta, and denied by Meares, great care and very close observation was made, and it becomes of extreme interest to us to watch the steps of English dominion; would the navigators find the road to destiny, or stumble? We therefore quote in full the still exact and picturesque account.



VANCOUVER'S MAP, 1793



"Sunset brought us in sight of the coast which had been seen by Mr. Meares. Its northern extremity in sight bore by compass N. 12 W. Cape Lookout * N. 10. E. the nearest shore N. 34. E. about a league distant. This being a remarkably steep bluff cliff, flattered us for some time with an appearance of the entrance of a harbor; but on a nearer approach the deception was found to have been occasioned by the lower land to the north forming a very shallow open bay. The southernmost land in sight bore S. S. E. In this situation we had fifty fathoms of water, black sandy bottom.

"Friday, April 27. The night, which was tolerably fair, was spent as usual in preserving our station until daybreak, when we pursued our examination along the coast with a favorable breeze, attended with some passing showers. Cape Lookout then bore by compass east, about two leagues distant. This cape forms only a small projecting point, yet it is remarkable for the four rocks that lie off from it, one of which is perforated, as described by Mr. Meares.

"From Cape Lookout, which is situated in lat. 45°, 32′, the coast takes a direction about north, 8 W. and is pleasingly diversified by eminences and small hills near the seashore; in which are some shallow sandy bays, with a few detached rocks lying about a mile from the land. The more inland country is considerably elevated; the mountains stretch toward the sea, and at a distance seemed to form many in-

* Near Tillamook Bay.

lets and projecting points; but the sandy beach that continued along the coast renders it a compact shore, now and then interrupted by perpendicular rocky cliffs, on which the surf violently breaks." When one recollects that on a very favorable day the discoverers passed, as they said, within three miles of the entrance of both Tillamook Bay, and Nehalem Bay, without seeing them, we cannot but think that in spite of the very fine and accurate descriptions of the outlines of the coast, their examination was not very thorough.

The narrative continues: "This mountainous inland country extends about ten leagues to the North from Cape Lookout, where it descends suddenly to a moderate height; and had it been destitute of its timber, which seemed of considerable magnitude, might have been deemed low land." The mountain country thus described is that from Tillamook Bay and includes the bold cliffs of Nekahni Mountain, and Tillamook Head; and where the highland breaks down is just north of the latter point, and where the Clatsop Plains country begins. The next stretch of sail was from Tillamook Head north to Cape Disappointment, and covered the twenty mile stretch of the Clatsop country, and the entrance of the Columbia. This was on the forepart of a very favorable day. The narrative proceeds:

"Noon brought us up with a very conspicuous point of land composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high, and projecting into the sea from

the low land before mentioned. These hummocks are barren and steep near the sea, but their tops thinly covered with wood. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues further south.

"On reference to Mr. Meares' description of the coast south of this I was first induced to believe it Cape Shaoalwater; but on ascertaining its latitude I presumed it to be that which he calls cape Disappointment, and the opening south of it Deception Bay. This cape was found to be in latitude 46°, 19′, by 236°, 6′. The sea had now changed from its natural to river coloured water; the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the northwest, being desirous to embrace the advantage of the breeze and pleasant weather, favorable to the examination of the coast."

Thus ended the first essay of the expedition to find the entrance of the great river. It seems incredible that being in a situation to look within, this opening should have been passed by Vancouver as not worthy of further examination. The color of the water,

changing that of the ocean at a distance of three miles to sea, showed such a volume as only a great river could discharge, and the conclusion that it was only from some small streams in the bay was one of much ignorance. However, we must notice that there were two strong prepossessions on the mind of Vancouver. One was the immense scale of all things on the coast. He probably formed little conception of the height of the forest, or the size of the rocks and bluffs, and he was probably continuously much farther from the shore than he estimates, or at least reports. He saw the entrance to none of a dozen considerable inlets of the Oregon coast, nor realized the dimensions of the truly large openings of Shoalwater Bay and Gray's Harbor, on the Washington shore. Then, also, he had before him the failure and deception and disappointment of Meares and allowed the conclusions of that rather timorous captain to influence his deductions. Moreover he was himself cautious. He was fearful of the breakers, which to his view made a complete circle, or crescent, from the point of the cape around to Clatsop sands; and had no mind to risk vessels of his size and importance in such unknown shoals. He demanded a clear, broad, deep, smooth inlet before he could obtain his own consent to jeopardize the majesty of a British command.

Consequently he sailed by, and the Columbia still ran to the sea, without owning any king; it retained its own mastery. Vancouver with perfect compla-



ENTRANCE TO STRAIT OF DE FUCA

After a print in "Voyages Made in Years 1788 and 1789 by Captain John Meares." Published in London in 1790.

cency spent the afternoon under a good spread of sail, and a fair breeze, along the enchanting shores of Washington. He says: "The country now before me presented a most luxurious landscape, and was probably not a little heightened in beauty by the weather that prevailed. The interior part was somewhat elevated, and agreeably diversified with hills, from which it gradually descended to the shore, and terminated in a sandy beach. The whole had the appearance of a forest, extending north as far as the eye could reach, which made me very solicitous to find a port in a country furnishing so delightful a prospect of fertility." Shoalwater Bay was sighted, but was deemed inaccessible on account of the breakers across the entrance. On the next day the explorers reached Destruction Island, a place well known on account of the loss of both English and Spanish sailors sent ashore, by massacre. In reviewing the course of exploration thus far, and anticipating what still lay before, Vancouver says, closing his day's accounts on the 28th: "Our curiosity was much excited to explore the promised expansive Mediterranean ocean which by various accounts is said to have existence in these regions." He then continues with some sarcasm: "The several large rivers and capacious inlets that have been described as discharging their contents into the Pacific between the 40th and 48th degree of north latitude, have been reduced to brooks insufficient for vessels to navigate, or inapplicable as harbors for refitting; unless that one of

which Mr. Dalrymple informs us, that ' it is alleged that the Spanish have recently found an entrance in the latitude of 47 deg. 45 min. N, which in 27 days' cruise brought them to the vicinity of Hudson's Bay '; this latitude exactly corresponds to the ancient relation of John de Fuca, the Greek pilot, in 1592."

There is a tone of self-importance, and a contempt of the efforts of others here that reconciles us to his defeat in coping with the by no means easy, but yet entirely accessible harbors of stern Oregon, which was to be won only by those, who as was inscribed on the winning casket, were ready to hazard all they had. But with no apparent doubt of their conclusions the explorers on the " Discovery " and " Chatham " went to rest on the almost closing month of April, with anticipations of some positive results on the morrow. They lay at anchor in 21 fathoms of water on a calm sea.

The next day was Sunday, and as early as four o'clock in the morning a sail was seen standing in shore. This was watched with great interest, as in eight months' time no such sight had gladdened the sea. Much interest and possibly some concern was felt as to what nationality the stranger might belong, but in no great space conjectures were relieved as in the clear air of early dawn a flag was seen to rise and float out on the breeze. It was the stars and stripes, denoting an American thus early out of port over the blue waves. A gun booming to leeward showed a

friendly salutation. At six she had approached close enough to speak, and proved to be the bark "Columbia," commanded by Robert Gray, of Boston, whence she had been absent nineteen months.

Vancouver was delighted to meet him here, in just the nick of time, as one of his chief objects was to explore the inland sea as reported by Meares, and felt little doubt that he was the commander of the "Washington," which had made that cruise. He therefore signaled the American to bring to, and sent Menzies and Puget "to acquire such information as might be serviceable in further operations." This was a most impressive moment in the history, and seems to have been participated in by the landscape itself, as while the morning advanced and the boat was gone, the clouds parted from the horizon, over which they had been floating, and Mount Olympus, about northeast, was unfolded to view, much to the delight of the explorers, who gazed long and admiringly upon "its snowy sides and high-forked top," while they awaited the return of Menzies and Puget.

When they came back, as Vancouver narrates, "we found that our conjectures had not been ill-grounded. It was not a little remarkable that on our approach to this inland sea we should fall in with the identical person who, it had been stated, sailed through it." However, and apparently to the satisfaction of the explorer, no one seemed more astonished than Gray himself on hearing that he had been

reported to have sailed through the straits and come around to the sea on the north side of Nootka. He assured the officers that he had penetrated only fifty miles into the straits, which he found to be five leagues wide, and that he returned to the ocean by the same way that he went in. The inlet he considered the same as Juan de Fuca had entered, "which opinion," adds Vancouver, "seemed to be universally received by all modern visitors." As we shall see hereafter it was not Gray, but Kendrick, that circumnavigated Vancouver's Island in the "Washington."

Gray also gave information of a large river of fresh water that he had attempted to enter, in latitude 46 degrees 10 minutes. He had stood in and out for nine days, but at every effort was driven back by the strong current. Vancouver says of it: "This was probably the opening found by me on the forenoon of the 27th, and was inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it." Gray also entered another inlet to the northward in latitude 54 degrees 30 minutes, and sailed to latitude 56 without finding a termination.

The information given by Gray did not disturb the conclusion of the Briton that the river was unworthy of further consideration, and he sailed on northward while Gray resumed his course; although for some reason the American turned and followed for a short distance, as if unsatisfied as to the object of the Brit-

ish; but not gaining soon hauled off and went south, disappearing under the curve of the sea.

The sky, after a morning in which the mountains had put off their clouds for a few hours as if to watch what the ships were doing, and possibly to consider which of the two flags was to wave over their summits, became hazy, and soon all was shrouded in rain. But it was not too stormy for Vancouver to watch closely the shore between forty-seven and forty-eight, and at noon he noted the violent surf beating on the rocks, and soon made out Tatoosh Island through the somewhat obscured atmosphere. The cape passed he understood was called Classet by the natives, and was not wholly sure at first that it was the Cape Flattery of Captain Cook. He looked also with great concern for the very high pinnacled rock, described by De Fuca, and also supposed to be identified by Meares; but concluded somewhat sardonically that this was an ornamentation, as although there were rocks, and many of great size, there was none in particular corresponding to that of the Greek's account. Seven o'clock at evening found him in a shallow bay* on the south side, and eight miles within the straits, well sheltered from the now rising south wind. All was made snug, and the evening was enlivened by native visitors, probably of the Makah tribe, who came aboard, and seemed very friendly.

The last day of the month—April, 1792—dawned

*Neah Bay.

clear and pleasant, with a west wind blowing fair up the straits, and the two vessels were soon under way, and proceeding up the greatest inlet of the western world. All were deeply impressed with the beauty of the scene; they observed the sandy, or shaly, cliffs, on the south, falling perpendicularly upon the beaches of sand or stones; the hills beyond, appearing to take a further moderate ascent, clothed densely with trees chiefly of the pine species, until the forest reached "a range of high craggy mountains,* which seemed to rise very abruptly from the woodlands, with a few scattered trees on their sterile sides, and their summits covered with snow."

From this fair morning, with the unclouded mountains affording scenes of all but unmatched grandeur on both sides of the immense inlet, although not of so great proportions on the north as on the south, came such a day as the explorers had perhaps never seen before, and rarely afterwards. It was one of those spring days that does its best, and a sparkling air and splendid sunshine bring forth the scenic grandeurs in all their amplitude. The sea breeze freshened, the ships were soon flying at a rapid rate past the changing shores, and after some hours all was most intense interest to see how these wonderful waters would unfold their mazes. The explorer says: "Every new appearance as we proceeded furnished new conjectures; the whole was not visibly connected; it might prove a cluster of islands sepa-

* Olympic Mountains.

rated by large arms of the sea, or be united by lands not sufficiently high to be discerned." They seemed to trust themselves entirely to the elements, not anticipating rocks or reefs, and enjoying the wind and sunshine with the abandon of boys. Nor was their confidence misplaced. No obstruction, or sunken reef, or flaw of the settled west wind occurred to interrupt their progress; but the horizon to the east at length appeared, and indicated a terminus to the waters in that direction, and as the afternoon began to wear a low film of clouds that settled over the heights disclosed above them " a high craggy mountain." This was sighted by the third lieutenant and named for him Mount Baker. The discovery of snow-capped peaks rising above the clouds was very impressive, and no men ever have shown more appreciation of their grandeur than these first explorers.

At seven o'clock, as the memorable day was about to close, a fine harbor, reminding Vancouver of Dungeness, was reached, and named for the home port—by which it is still known. In closing the day's accounts the navigator pauses to review his discoveries on the coast thus far, and is struck with " the very singular circumstance," that, " on a coast of 215 leagues " on which " our inquiries had been employed under the most favorable circumstance of wind and weather, we should not until now have seen any appearance of an opening in its shores; the whole coast seeming one compact,

solid, straight, barrier against the sea." He reverts to " Mr. Gray's river," which should have existence in the bay south of Cape Disappointment, as " very intricate, and inaccessible to vessels of our burthen."

May day broke with weather still beautiful, and the voyage was resumed and continued until shortly before noon the fine harbor named by Vancouver Port Discovery was reached, and the security of the place was so apparent, both from wind and any possible attacks, owing to the position of Protection Island, as named, that here the two vessels cast anchor, and prepared for a general refitting and cleaning. This occupied almost a week.

The whole of May and the most of June was now spent in discoveries above the straits to the southward. Very fine weather, interrupted occasionally by fog, or sometimes by rain, characterized the season. Vancouver very considerately remarks as to the rains, that although causing some discomfort they were no more frequent and abundant than the growing vegetation required. All were enchanted with the beauties of the scenery; nothing pleased them more than the numerous open spaces, or glades, seen on the islands, or points of land, where innumerable gay flowers alternated with the rich coloring of green grass. Speaking of the beauty of the country he says: " To describe the beauties of this region will, on some future occasion, be a very grateful task to the pen of some skillful panegyrist. The serenity of the climate, the innumerable pleasing landscapes,



FOUR REMARKABLE POLES IN PORT TOWNSEND, ENTRANCE TO PUGET SOUND

From a print in "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver." Published in London in 1798.

and the abundant fertility that unassisted nature puts forth, require only to be enriched by the industry of man, with villages, mansions, cottages, and other buildings, to make the most lovely country that can be imagined; while the labor of the inhabitants would be amply rewarded in the bounties that nature seems ready to bestow on cultivation."

The first task after making Port Discovery was discovering the arm upon which was bestowed the name Hood's Canal. This was done by Vancouver with the ship's yawl, and with Puget, Menzies, and Johnstone, leaving Broughton in charge of the vessels. On his way the commander found the safe and capacious harbor which he called Port Townsend, " after the noble Marquis." On the same day he also sighted and named Mount Ranier, after the rear admiral of that name, an officer of the British navy. The pleasure, and also the honor to himself and the advantage to his nation, of thus placing the names of his friends or of distinguished Britons upon the conspicuous features of the landscape, were fully appreciated by the captain.

To follow out the first large canal found entering here—as his plan was to begin on his right hand going up and investigate every opening to its end—required ten days more time than he anticipated, and all the boat's provisions were consumed before returning to the vessels. Following this lonely water to its last curve far into the impending forest proved quite a strain on the spirits of the men.

The awe of nature was on them, Vancouver says, and the men grew timid in the awful silence of the forest and the deep waters. The stillness was interrupted only by the croaking of a raven, now and then; or the scream of an eagle, or the breathing of a seal. "Even these solitary sounds were so seldom heard that the rustling of the breeze along the shore, assisted by the solemn stillness that prevailed gave rise to ridiculous suspicions in our seamen of hearing rattlesnakes, and other hideous monsters in the wilderness." They were glad to return safely from this weird arm of the inland sea to their ships, where they found the faithful Broughton growing anxious for their safety. As a sort of first fruits of a complete discovery, and representing Vancouver's own personal exertion, this canal was named for a much admired friend, the Right Honorable Lord Hood.

Proceeding up the main arm of the sound, to which was given the name of Admiralty Inlet, Port Orchard was reached and named on the 24th. On the 29th, Vashon Island was found, and named for an officer in the navy. Mount St. Helens was sighted, and when again seen in the autumn was named in honor of the English Ambassador at Madrid. The multiplicity of arms and coves of the upper waters required detailed examination, and not until June 4th was the survey of Admiralty Inlet completed, and then formal and somewhat ceremonious possession of the country was taken for the British sovereign, under the name New Georgia.



MT. RAINIER, FROM THE SOUTH PART OF ADMIRALTY INLET

After a print in "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver." Published in London in 1798.

During their explorations over the country of the sound, to which the name of the upper arm, after Mr. Puget, has been extended, Indians were often seen, and the villages, which had only been left temporarily, are often spoken of as " deserted." The natives were observed digging camas, or gathering shell fish, or sometimes hunting for the spotted deer along the shores of the islands. They usually regarded the white men with apparent indifference, and continued their tasks without signs of either fear or curiosity. At the village near Port Orchard the dogs were found all freshly shorn, like sheep, and it was from these animals that the hair with which the finer clothes were woven was obtained. So far as they took notice of the white men these " good people " seemed friendly, except once. This was in connection with a small party on the upper arm of the sound, when the officer in charge gave the order to discharge the guns, as he thought they had been loaded too long. A party of Indians were near, and seeing the smoke and hearing the noise came near, making faces and saying " poo " after each discharge. The officer, not knowing this was the word for gun, took it as a sign of hostility and contempt, and began to prepare for a contest. The Indians also gathered their bows, and began stringing them. But after numerous signs, and shooting in an opposite direction, the Indians seemed satisfied, and departed. This officer committed the same mistake that cost Cook his life in the Sandwich Islands, who fired a blank shot

to intimidate the natives, but they, seeing they were not hurt, no longer feared smoke.

On another occasion Vancouver noticed that the Indians showed abhorrence of cannibalism. He bought a deer of a party that entered his camp, and wishing to show them some consideration invited them to eat. When the meat was brought on they refused it, and upon being urged showed every sign of disgust, and declined more positively. He then ordered the parts of the deer from which the meat had been taken to be brought, and being shown beyond all doubt that it was from the deer, and not, as he imagined they thought, from a human being, they were satisfied and ate heartily.

Penn's Cove, named for a personal friend, and Whidby's Island were charted and named. Proceeding down, Vancouver bestowed the name Gray's Point, apparently in honor of the American, but in reality in order to mark what he considered the extent of his examination, and met on the 22d of June a Spanish ship, or small corvette, named the "Sutil," manning 24 men in the most crowded and uncomfortable condition, under Galiano and Valdes. Information was given by them that Bodega, the Spanish commissioner, was now at Nootka, and awaiting the arrival of the English, by whom all things would be found ready for the restoration and transfer of the place. Courtesies were exchanged, dinner was taken on board the Spanish craft, and in company with them the English sailed through the Rosario Straits.

Then parting, went northward, and completed the circumnavigation of the island, the first made, as confidently believed by Vancouver, though to Kendrick the honor may belong.

It was nearly two months before this circumnavigation was accomplished, and, then passing to the ocean and coasting down the weather shore, the Englishmen sailed into Nootka. Vancouver was anxious to make port, as in the northern waters his ship, the "Discovery," had struck on a reef, at high tide, and had hung as the tide went down, in a very perilous position; but upon beaching was found to have suffered only the loss of some copper. At Nootka the Spanish commandant, and peace commissioner, whose full name was Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, was awaiting him with all suavity, and at once offered hospitality. A very sumptuous dinner, which the English chronicler states was of five courses, and consisted of fresh vegetables and meats, and tasted surprisingly good, was served. The Indian chief Maquinna was at the feast, and as he had announced that he had made his daughter his heir, the young princess was also present, and behaved with dignity and decorum. Maquinna, however, was a little out of sorts, and complained considerably about the transfer to the English. He was shown every attention, however, and at length was persuaded that the English were as good friends as the Spanish. He had unintentionally been much offended by refusal of the guard to board the English

ships, when they first arrived, no one on board knowing who he was, as he wore no mark of his chief rank. But he thought he ought to be known in his own home and on his own water, and for some time would not be convinced of the error.

A number of vessels were seen at Nootka, among them being the American brig "Hope," under Ingraham.

At length, after satisfying all the Spanish equities, and receiving the quarters, Vancouver and Broughton sailed from Nootka about the middle of October. They were anxious to make another attempt to enter the Columbia, and on the 19th were off the bar. They sailed up at four o'clock, but the wind dying away put out again. On the forenoon of the next day they stood in, the "Chatham" leading, but the "Discovery" after reaching a point where the water shoaled to four fathoms and being in imminent peril of striking on the spit, made the best of her way out. The "Chatham" got in. The "Discovery" made another effort, but a heavy southeast gale arising put to sea and steered for Monterey, in order to complete the survey of the coast. His final estimate of the Columbia is given by Vancouver as follows: "My former opinion of this port being inaccessible to vessels of our burthen was now fully confirmed; with the exception that in very fine weather, with moderate winds and a smooth sea, vessels not exceeding four hundred tons, might, so far as we were able to judge, gain admittance."



THE "DISCOVERY" ON THE ROCKS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND

After a print in "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean in 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver." Published in London in 1798.

The entrance to the Columbia undoubtedly then as now required care, but the dangers that threatened the "Discovery" were chiefly that she was out of the channel. Broughton found four and a half fathoms of water, and Gray found five. Within not a very great many years after Vancouver wrote English vessels were crossing every year, and now not vessels of four hundred, but of as many thousand tons, and more, are crossing at all seasons.

In May of this same year, as we shall see more particularly, the Columbia had been entered and examined by Robert Gray; but it will be well here, as completing the discoveries of the British, to give a short account of the survey made for a hundred miles of its course by Lieutenant Broughton. Crossing in he found four fathoms of water, and breakers all across the mouth except at one point. Smooth water and safe anchorage was found under the shelter of Cape Disappointment, a mile and a half from the bar. In attempting to sail up the river he sighted Chinook Point, where he saw a "deserted village," and kept this "well open with a remarkable projecting point, that obtained the name of Tongue Point, on the southern shore, appearing as an island," but not knowing the channel soon went aground; getting off easily, however, as the tide rose.

The following day was spent in an excursion to the south shore, examining the low sandy peninsula of Point Adams, and viewing the breakers on the sands; and at length rowing up a bay and river,

which he named for Sir George Young, of the Royal navy. The night was spent on the reedy shore of this water, but not very comfortably, as the rain fell in torrents. The next day, however, broke very pleasantly, and the sight of the golden autumn leaves, and the rich colors of the grassy shores and the young tideland spruces dotting the meadows, was very cheerful. Immense flocks of migratory fowls were also remarked.

With no great surplus of time, and without a very great interest in a stream to which the right of discovery could not be very clearly established, the English lieutenant made a survey of the estuary, visiting and naming Gray's Bay on the north shore, marking thus as he supposed the farthest limit of Gray's exploration. On reaching a point some thirty miles from the bar he found the estuary contract to about —as he estimated—half a mile, and the course of the river choked with islands. This arm he then asserted, was the true mouth of the Columbia, and all that below was but a sound; and that he was the first to discover the river.

He intended this an entirely serious conclusion, and was supported in it by both Vancouver and the claims of the British Government. Vancouver, describing Broughton's discoveries, says: " About a mile from the east point of the bay (Gray's) commences a range of five small, low, sandy islets, partly covered with wood, and extending about five miles eastward. . . . Between the ocean and that which should

properly be considered the entrance of the river, is a space from three to seven (four to ten) miles wide, intricate to navigate on account of the shoals, that extend nearly from side to side; and ought rather to be considered as a sound than as constituting a part of the river, since the entrance to the river, which they reached about dark, was found to be not more than half a mile wide, formed by the contracting shores of the sound.

" Between the points of entrance, lying from each other N. 50 E. and S. 50 W. were seven fathoms of water. The northernmost point is situated in latitude 46° 18′ N. and longitude (east from Greenwich) 236° 34′. . . . The true point of entrance is formed by low marshy land; the southernmost seems to be an island. To the North West of the most northerly a branch took a northerly direction, and was named Orchard river."

We need not linger very particularly with the details of Broughton's survey up the river, as the most of his observations were hasty and inconsequential. What is now of the most interest to us is the nomenclature of various points, as this has to a large extent remained. Mr. Puget, who seems to have been a favorite, was honored with bestowal of his name upon the largest island passed, and by this it is still known. For Walker, the " Chatham's " surgeon, another island, farther up, was called, and this name has remained, and the island become famous in the history of river improvement. Mount Coffin, as they

proceeded further, was also passed and named, the place then, as for some time after, being noticeable as the burial, or place of open sepulture, in boxes or canoes, covered only with a lid, or another canoe over the body, of the Indians. This was so much noticed in the accounts of travelers that the poet Bryant, in composing his most noted ode, was impressed with the picture, and to it is due the fact that he introduced the famous lines "Where rolls the Oregon," in order that he might complete the illustration of his theme by adding—"Yet,—the dead are there."

A point, possibly near the mouth of the Willamette, was named Belle Vue, from the extreme beauty of the scene; and from this the large conical mountain a little south of east was noticed. Being anxious to finish his survey and return to sea before the winter storms, Broughton was influenced by the sight of this mountain, still covered with snow to its base, though thus late in the season, to conclude that the range to which the mountain belonged must close the course of the Columbia eastward, and portended the speedy ending of the stream. He did not dream that the river extended over a thousand miles above, or was able to cut the mountain chain across. The powerful current, also, and east wind, made rowing both slow and tiresome, and the men complained of fatigue. He proceeded, however, to a point on the north shore, above a great sand bar on the south side, where he estimated the river as but quarter of a mile wide. This was in latitude 45 degrees 27 min-

utes; and longitude 237 degrees 50 minutes, east of Greenwich. This is a little above the mouth of the Sandy, near the present point of Washougal.

The weather was now fine, and the mountains stood out in all their grandeur. Broughton was much impressed with the magnificence of the pyramidal snow peak, now bearing southeast. It is thus described: "The same remarkable mountain that had been seen from Belle Vue Point, again presented itself, bearing at this point S. 67° East; and though the party were now nearer to it by seven leagues yet its lofty summit was scarcely more distinct across the intervening land, which was more than moderately elevated. Mr. Broughton honored it with Lord Hood's name; its appearance was magnificent; and it was clothed in snow from its summit as low down as the highland, by which it was intercepted, permitted it to be visible."

The point was called for Vancouver, and from the circumstance that Fort Vancouver was built not very far from here it has been frequently stated that Broughton ascended to the present site of Vancouver; but the point was nearly twenty miles above, as is shown by the latitude and longitude given. He says, indeed, that it was but 84 miles "from the mouth of the river," meaning the islands near Cathlamet; and 100 from where the "Chatham" lay, which was near Chinook Point; but he evidently meant nautical, not English miles. As to the Columbia River itself he remarks here: "Thus far the

river could be hardly considered navigable for shipping "—not foreseeing the commerce that should one day float on its breast, bearing the largest liners. He could not foresee, either, the energy of a people such as afterwards occupied the country, which easily has broken over natural inconveniences.

At this impressive point he took possession of the territory for his Britannic majesty, and in the ceremony an old Indian chief who had followed with his braves in a canoe, was perfectly willing to take part, drinking to the health of the English king with as much appetite as if the draught were mere ordinary liquor. He had been accompanied by natives nearly all the way, who seemed very friendly, although once or twice making a demonstration of paint and feathers, but as it afterwards proved from simple compliment. At one point he was accosted by some who could not make themselves understood except by signs, the principal one being drawing their hands across their throats. This was at first understood as a threat, but afterwards as a warning of a hostile people above. Probably it was neither, but was a sign of the tribe living on the upper Columbia—the sign of the throat indicating the Nez Perce people; the intention probably being to say that the Nez Perces were above, or that this was a band of that tribe. It might have developed great historic interest if the explorers had gone as far as the Cascades, where they might possibly have seen the Spaniard Soto, whose son is mentioned by Franchere twenty years afterwards.

Broughton felt fully justified in taking possession of the country, and Vancouver concludes that he had "every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation had ever entered this river before"; and in this opinion he "was confirmed by Mr. Gray's sketch in which it does not appear that Mr. Gray either saw, or was even within five leagues of, its entrance."

It need hardly be said that although this view of the relation of the Columbia to its estuary was seriously put forth, it could not be sustained. It had to be conceded that Broughton's "Mouth" was arbitrarily fixed in order to make a claim that suited the object of the British explorers. Any other narrower place either above or below, or a broader one, for that matter, might have been fixed by an interested party. It was seen that although for thirty miles from the sea the river expands to an estuary this is practically controlled by river conditions, and that no point can be considered the "mouth" except where the water is discharged into the sea. It must also be said that Broughton very greatly belittled the Columbia, his measurements being in all cases too small, or he used nautical miles when the public would infer he meant statute miles. It is true the river was at its lowest, or "zero" period; but he had abundant evidence of its higher stages, indeed at one point noticing driftwood twenty feet above the level of the river at the time; but this he attributed to "an uncommonly high tide." In many such matters he

showed himself unfamiliar with river conditions, and was constantly applying salt water ideas to fresh water.

After taking possession the explorers hastened back to the "Chatham," and found an American brig anchored inside of the cape. This was the "Jenny," of Bristol, Rhode Island; and the compliment was given her master of bestowing his name, Baker, upon the bay which has since been so styled. This was chiefly to emphasize the fact, as the British understood it, that the Americans had confined their discoveries to the shallow bays below the true "mouth," while the English names denoted the farther exploration.

Baker seems to have been a shrewd master, and to him was owed much in the way of getting the "Chatham" out of the river. He had been inside earlier in the year, and had become acquainted with the channel; and accommodatingly offered to take the lead, while the "Chatham" followed. The Englishman stood down the bay, making a short trip of inspection, and then attempted the crossing, with an east northeast wind, and tide at half ebb. This was, in truth, a dangerous combination, as steerage would be most difficult, and at that stage of tide the currents swept violently over the spits. The "Chatham" barely missed the breakers on the shoals off Cape Hancock, and then stood over towards Point Adams. The soundings first showed from six to nine and eleven fathoms, but the sea was extremely irregular

and confused. The water then, as they crossed southerly, rapidly shoaled from six to five, and then four and a half fathoms, or 27 feet. The course was then changed to the west, half south, and a close watch was kept of the "Jenny," which seemed to be riding the swells, and shipping no water. But for the "Chatham" the waves became dangerous, as they rolled up from the sea against both wind and a powerful ebb-tide. She pitched so violently that although the wind was directly aft, it was often spilled from the sails, so that it appeared for some moments that she would lose steerage. The sea also broke several times over the decks, deluging the vessel from stem to stern.

With the idea of having a refuge in case of necessity the ship's boat was left out, being towed along behind, and occupied by but one man. Just about on the middle of the bar as a huge wave rose and strained the line, the rope was snapped, and the boat and man were turned adrift. Help was impossible further than to cast out life buoys in case the boat should swamp. But the brave fellow coolly took the oars and guided his way in the channel, and was afterward picked up without injury.

Soon the peril was over, and the Englishman was safe on the open sea.

Vancouver, however, never became a friend of the Columbia River. He closes his reference to this noble stream as follows: "From the information and impressions derived from the visit, it appears to be highly advisable that no vessel should attempt en-

tering this port but when the *Water is perfectly Smooth.* A passage may then be effected with safety, but ought even then to be undertaken with caution." Broughton reported no less depth than four and a half fathoms, or 27 feet. Gray, it will be remembered, found thirty feet. Broughton's soundings were taken very nearly at low tide, and what was his idea in taking an ebb-tide, with wind aft, does not appear. Probably he feared that with the advancing day the wind might fail. But a northwest wind on the beam, and a rising tide to afford steerage way, as the bar then lay between Clatsop spit on the south and Peacock spit on the north, with deepest water looking about southwest, would have been much more favorable.

With this the period of discovery practically ends. In the following volume the operations of the Americans, including that of their seamen and explorers, will be particularly taken up. But in the foregoing we have seen that of all the European nations who had had the opportunity to acquire Oregon, England had, at the close of the eighteenth century, outstripped them all, and by the careful examinations of Vancouver laid a foundation for any explorations or settlements that she might desire to make. This was accomplished chiefly by the British crown. The epoch-making voyage of Cook and the examinations and surveys of Vancouver were the acts of the king, and opened the way for his subjects to undertake enterprise without fear or danger anywhere on the



LAUNCH OF THE "NORTHWEST AMERICA" AT NOOTKA SOUND. THE FIRST VESSEL BUILT ON THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST

After a print in "Voyages Made in Years 1788 and 1789 by Captain John Meares." Published in London in 1790.

Northwest Pacific Coast. By these discoveries and the Nootka convention the coast line from California on the south—whatever might prove the most northern Spanish settlements—to the Russian possessions on the north, which were at least above Queen Charlotte's Island, became practically free to the English.

This result could be called due to no other factor than the foresight and determination of the British Government, and the energy and enterprise of the English navigators.

APPENDIX

Authors and Books Relating to the Period Treated in Volume I, with Comments

As the periods treated in the successive volumes of this history may be, and indeed should be, studied in an independent way by many of the readers, it is thought advisable to insert here a short summary of the books bearing upon the events traced. These may in the most of cases be found in libraries upon this coast.

BRINTON, Daniel G., of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Brinton's work, "Myths of the New World," 1896, David McKay, Philadelphia, presents no new details as to myths or ethnological data of the Oregon Indians. His classification of the Indians, from northward to southward, as the Eskimo, Athapascans, Iroquois, Algonquins, Dakotas, Chatah-Muskokis, and Uto-Aztecs, probably represents present ethnological ideas, although why the natives of this coast should be called by a tribe around a lake in Canada, does not appear; nor is it at all probable that the diverse tribes in Oregon have any closer affinity with the Athapascans than with other natives of North America. Nor can it be admitted that the highly astute and dignified Sahaptins or acute Chinooks have anything particular in common with the native whose skull Virchow pronounced of "the lowest type of humanity." He adduces an interesting comparison of the names of God, or rather of "The Spiritual Element," "Medicine," showing the unity of all the American tribes:—The word being in Algonquin, Manito; and oki; in Iroquois, Atkan; in Hidatsa, hopa; in Dakota, Wakan; in Aztec, Teotl; in Quinchua, Huac; and in Maya, Ku. The close affinity of the Oregon Indians with what he considers these superior tribes is shown in the same word, being *Tomaniwus* in Chinook, and *Tewat* in Nez Perce. Tomaniwus is instantly seen to be almost identical with Manito. The Algonquin idea of Thunder, as the flapping of a great bird's wings, though among the Dakotas the lightning was conceived of as the fire struck out as buffaloes struck fire from their hoofs, from flint rocks, is closely related to the Chinook idea. The sacred number of the Indians is stated by Brinton as Four, while among the Oregon tribes it is Five. The Sacred Animal of the Indians is stated by him as the Great Hare, while among the Oregon Indians it is the Old Coyote, or by some the Old Mink, or Marten. Ouragan, of interest

as a word to which the word Oregon has been referred, is of Aztec origin, and from it has been derived the word hurricane. It was the name of the god of the four winds, whose breath was creative, like the Nez Perce Allalimya. The unity of the Indians with the rest of the human species is accepted by Brinton, who quotes approvingly from the leading ethnologist, Waitz:—"Not only do acknowledged facts permit the assumption of the unity of the human species, but this hypothesis is attended with fewer difficulties, and has greater inner consistency, than the opposite one of diversity." He also adds that Monogenism is accepted by the most of anthropologists. While the Indian belongs to a gray antiquity he is still an immigrant to America, and most pronouncedly so upon the development theory, as none of the anthropoids have been found in America.

BROWN, J. Henry, "Political History of Oregon." Wiley B. Allen, publisher, Portland, Ore, 1892. Lewis Dryden & Co. print. Documents of much interest touching the earliest discoveries and treaties. Brown's history is the best compendium of documents yet collected.

BOAS, Dr. Franz, "Chinook Texts," Department of Ethnology, 1896, Washington, D. C. A pamphlet of great interest, though evidently prepared with haste, and not equal to the larger work of Gatchet on the Klamaths. The stories here related as given by Charles Cultee, a Chinook of Bay Centre, Wash., seem less pointed and much less dramatic and humorous than some of the same related by Chinooks to the writer. Cultee, moreover, although a very intelligent man, is not the only one who recalls the Indian Legends—Malette, Talzan, and a number of women knowing the same by heart. The following, a description of the first ship seen by the Clatsops, is the best description of the event yet seen by the author. As well confirming the account given by Mr. Smith from the recollections of his mother, Celiast, this is inserted here in full. This will be understood as having been related to Dr. Boas in the original old Chinook, not the jargon; then translated by Cultee into jargon, and from that by Dr. Boas into English. It is the story of the wreck of Konapee, as given in the account of Mr. Smith. It says:

The son of an old woman had died. She wailed for a whole year, and then she stopped. Now one day she went to Sea Side. There she used to stop; and returned. She returned walking along the beach. She nearly reached Clatsop; now she saw something. She thought it was a whale. When she came near to it she saw two

spruce trees standing upright on it. She thought, "Behold, it is no whale; it is a monster." She reached the Thing that lay there. Now she saw that the outside was all covered over with copper. Ropes were tied to the spruce trees, and it was full of iron. Then a bear came out of it. He stood on the Thing that lay there. He looked just like a bear, but his face was that of a human being. Then she went home; now she thought of her son, and cried, saying, "Oh, my son is dead, and the Thing about which we have heard in the tales (Ekanum) is on the shore." When she nearly reached the town she continued to cry. The people said, "Oh, a person comes crying; perhaps somebody struck her."

The people made themselves ready; they took their arrows. An old man said "Listen!" Then the people listened. Now she said all the time, "Oh, my son is dead, and the Thing about which we have heard in the Ekanum stories is on the shore." The people said, "What may it be?" They went running to meet her. They said, "What is it?" She answered, "Oh, something lies there, and it is there; there are two bears on it; perhaps they are people."

Then the people ran; they reached the Thing that was there. Now the two people on the Thing—people or whatever else they might be—held two copper kettles in their hands. The first of the two soon reached them; then the other quickly arrived. Now they lifted their hands to their mouths and gave the people their kettles; the kettles had lids. The two men pointed inland, and asked for water. Then two of our people ran inland; they hid behind a log. They returned again and ran to the beach. One of our men ran and climbed up, and entered the Thing; he went down inside (into the ship). He looked down into the interior of the ship. It was full of boxes. He found brass buttons in strings half a fathom long. He went out again to call his relatives, but they had already set fire to the ship. He jumped down; the two persons had already got down. It burnt just like fat. Then the Clatsops got the iron, the copper, and the brass. Then all the people (the various Indian tribes) heard about it. The two persons were taken to the chief of the Clatsops. Then the chief of one of the towns said, "I want to keep one of the men with me." The people almost began to fight Then one of them was taken to one town, and the chief was satisfied. Now the Quenaiult, the Chehales, the Cascades, the Cowlitz, and the Klikitat heard about it, and they all went to Clatsop. The Quenaiult, the Willapa, and the Chehales went. The people of all the towns went there. The Cascades, the Cowlitz, and the Klikitat came down the river. All those of the upper part of the river came

down to Clatsop. Strips of copper, two fingers wide, and going around the arm, were exchanged for one slave each. A piece of iron as long as half the forearm was exchanged for one slave. A nail was sold for a good curried deer skin. Several nails were given for long haiqua (dentalia). The people bought this and the Clatsops became rich. Then iron and brass were seen for the first time. Now they kept the two persons. One was kept by each chief. One was at the Clatsop town of the Cape (Disappointment).

From stories told in this collection it appears that murder, cannibalism, incest and sodomy were forbidden.

GATCHET, Samuel, "Language, Myths, and Lexicon of the Klamaths and Modocs," Department of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 1890. This is esteemed the most careful and complete work of the department that has come under the eye of the editor. It is quoted so freely in the text as to need no further notice here.

FLETCHER, Miss, Smithsonian Publication, "Indian Music."

MALLERY, Garrick, "Picture Writing of North American Indians."

FORNANDER, "Polynesian Races"—considered standard.

COOK, Voyages of; London edition; many abstracts, or rescensions are also in print.

SPARKS, Dr. Jared, "Life of John Ledyard"; quoted freely in the text.

VANCOUVER, Captain George; London Folio Edition; very handsomely illustrated. Journals and reports of Broughton.

GREEN; "History of the English People"; standard.

BANCROFT, Hubert Howe; "Northwest Coast."

LANG, H. O.; "History of the Willamette Valley," Geo. H. Himes, Portland, Ore., 1885. First chapters give a fair abstract of early history. Mr. Lang was well known as a mineralogist in this State. In his history he mentions and apparently credits the Spanish story of a man being put ashore by Drake "in a bad bay" at

the northern limit of the voyage—perhaps in Oregon; but the man thus turned out among savages, a Spaniard, is presumed to have made his way to Mexico.

CYCLOPEDIA, National, London.

ENCYCLOPEDIA Britannica, American Edition.

CYCLOPEDIAS, American, Johnson's; dates, etc.

TWISS, Travers, D.C.L., F.R.S., Prof. Political Economy, England, Oxford, Eng. "The Oregon Question," examined in respect to facts and the law of nations, London, 1846. This was the best, and still the classic, work of the English press to sustain before the public the claims of the British Government. It is set forth especially to refute the claims of the American classic by Greenhow, and being clearly and ably written, superior indeed in style to Greenhow, will be especially noticed here as giving verification to many incidents that an author in Oregon cannot verify from original documents. An abstract of the book will therefore be given here.

Object—To forward a peaceable settlement of the Question.

Territory concerned:—Region west of the Rocky Mountains may be divided into three great districts. "The most southerly of these, of which the northern boundary line was drawn along the parallel of 42 degrees by the treaty of Washington with Spain in 1819, belongs to the United States of Mexico. The most northerly, commencing at Behring Straits, and of which the extreme southern limit was fixed at the southern point of Prince of Wales Island, in the parallel of 54 degrees, 40 minutes, by treaties concluded between Russia and the United States of America in 1824, and between Russia and Great Britain in 1825, forms a part of the dominion of Russia; whilst the intermediate country is not as yet under the acknowledged sovereignty of any power." This he reckoned as about 500,000 squares miles in area, and was called New Albion, New Georgia, or the northern part New Caledonia, by the English, Northern Part of California by the Spanish; and popularly Oregon. The name Oregon he attributes to Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut, a British subject, who set out from Boston in 1766, and published his book in London, 1778; and to whom he gives much more credit than is allowed by Greenhow. The name "Columbia" to Gray's ship, "which first succeeded in passing the bar at the mouth of the Columbia." Oregon, he states, remained unknown

until Captain James King, on his return from the voyage that proved fatal to Cook, made known the high prices which the furs of the sea otter commanded in the markets of China—omitting mention of Ledyard's account published in America. From King's publications he dates the fur trade on the northwest coast, 1786. Attempts of Spain to suppress this trade in 1789 led to the Convention of the Escurial in 1790, and to Vancouver's voyage and discoveries in 1791-2.

Abstract of voyages of discovery as given by Twiss:

1500, Gaspar de Cortereal, Portuguese, reported Straits of Ania.

1598, Voyage of Francisco Galli.

1598, Viscaino; Aguilar's river.

1592, pretended discoveries of Juan de Fuca, which is no doubt rightly considered fictitious by Twiss.

1539, Ulloa.

1542, Cabrillo; Ferrelo reached 41 degrees, or 43 degrees.

1577-79, Sir Francis Drake, whose reported limit of 48 degrees, instead of 43 degrees, as claimed by Greenhow, is defended. Twiss, here, from not knowing the climate of the Pacific Ocean, and thinking that this coast was subject to the blizzards of Texas, finds no great improbability in the cold that in June froze stiff the ropes and sails of Drake's vessel. He inserts the account of Fletcher of the appearance of the shore: "From the height of 48 degrees, in which we were, to 38 degrees, we found the land, by coasting along it, to be but low and reasonable plain; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none very high), though it were June, and the sun in his nearest approach to them, being covered with snow." This description—unless we allow a surprising misapprehension of the character of the coast—would indicate that it was not seen by Drake.

1741, Bering and Tchirikof.

1774, Perez.

1775, Heceta and Bodega.

1776, Cook.

1783, Russians.

1787, Russians see St. Elias.

1785-6, English under Portuguese flag.

1785-6, English East India Co.

1785-6, La Perouse.

1785-6, King George Sound Co.

1785-6, Meares and Tipping.

1787, Duncan and Colnett.

1787, Barclay discovers Straits of Fuca.

Twiss defends the contention of Vancouver, that the mouth of the Columbia was twenty-five miles from the bar, and the course below this was but a bay; cites Mackensie's trip as the first by white men across the continent, and the settlement of the Northwesters in 1806 as the first west of the Rocky Mountains north of California. He cites the survey of David Thompson in 1811 as the first navigation of the northern branch of the Columbia. He mentions the Lewis and Clark expedition, the organization of the Missouri Fur Company and fort west of the Rockies in 1808, and the Astor expedition; but omits notice of Winship.

He concludes that the proper line of division is about midway between San Francisco Bay and Prince Williams Island, which is indicated "by nature" as the mouth of the Columbia River. By overstating the case he weakens what was no doubt a tolerably strong claim.

GREENHOW, Robert, Washington, 1846; "Oregon and California." Greenhow published two works on the Oregon Question, the latter being the above. He was librarian in the U. S. Government Department, and his work covers almost the entire case in detail. He had access to a number of manuscripts from Spain, and although accused in some instances of exaggeration, or misquotation, is admitted as standard authority; being quoted by such historians as J. J. Anderson. Making allowances for some American bias, no other ranks higher. His pages are very freely consulted in the text of this book, first volume.

WELLS, Harry L.; "Popular History of Oregon," David Steel, Portland, 1889. Early discovery noticed at considerable length. In the apochryphal story of Fonte it is observed that at the time of the pretended voyage John Winthrop was governor of Massachusetts, not Seymour Gibbons—the latter being a name not found among any New England governors or "major-generals." An abstract of the advance and discoveries of the French west of the Great Lakes is also inserted: 1678, at Fort Du Luth, at western end of Lake Superior; 1683, at Lake Pepin; 1700, at Mankato; 1716, the French geographer, De L'Isle, at Paris, directed attention to these movements and urged further exploration; 1717, an energetic movement forward; 1728, Verendrye was directed by the governor of Canada to explore the Shining Mountains, and reached Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods; 1730, a party of 28 French-

men were massacred by Indians; 1742, two sons of the chevalier penetrated the Missouri Valley, discovered the falls, and crossed the range to Wind River, but finding that no valuable metals, but naked rocks or snow made the mountains shine, or gleam, named them the "Stony Mountains"; 1744, same party explored the Saskatchewan River, and reported this as the more favorable route west, and not liable to bring the French into collision with the Spanish, who held northern California.

WRIGHT, E. W., "Marine History of Pacific Northwest"; Lewis and Dryden, Portland, 1895; handsomely illustrated and furnishing good accounts of early discovery, as well as much valuable later material.

PARKMAN, Francis; the well-known standard works giving in detail the immense labors of the French to establish a new feudal empire, and its gradual supersession by the English, the reason of which is summed by this historian in a sentence:—"Here, in brief, is the whole spirit of the French Colonial rule in Canada—a government, as I have elsewhere shown, of excellent intentions, but of arbitrary methods." "Pioneers of New France," "The Jesuits in America," "La Salle, and Discovery of the Great West," "Frontenac and Pioneers of New France," "Wolfe and Montcalm," and "Half Century of Conflict" are the principal volumes of this series. Parkman is popular rather than profound in his treatment, and picturesque rather than sympathetic. He cannot embody the entire series of human interests in enterprises of trade or conquest, or of a national and restricted religious enterprise.

FISKE, Dr. John, Harvard University; Lecture at Astoria, Ore., May 12; "Centennial Celebration of Discovery of the Columbia River." Dr. Fiske calls attention to the conceptions of Europeans in regard to North America, as shown by the French map of De L'Isle, showing the greater part of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and other portions adjoining, as an immense inland sea, with two narrow straits between latitude 40 and 50, connecting with Pacific Ocean; and farther north a chain of lakes and straits connecting with Hudson's Bay, 1752; and the English map of Jeffrey, 1768, showing the Straits of Fuca in latitude 48 degrees, and North America eastward as a series of archipelagoes to Hudson's Bay. He mentions as conspicuous events the voyage of Drake, 1579; of Vitus

Bering, 1728, and discovery of Mt. St. Elias, 1741; voyage of Perez in 1773, and of Bodega and Heceta in 1775; Cook in 1778, and Meares in 1788; and of Kendrick and Gray in 1790. He also states that in 1791-2 there were as many as 30 trading vessels on the Northwest Coast.

GIBBS, George, "The Chinook Language." A miscellaneous document by the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, in 1864, contains the following classification of words, according to their origin: Chinook, 200; Chinook mixed with others, 21; interjections common to a number of Indian languages, 8; Nootkan, 24; Chehalis, 32; Klikitat, 2; Cree, 2; Chippeway, 1; Wasco, 4; Kalapuya, 4; direct onomatopoeia (imitation of natural sound), undetermined Indian origin, 18; French, 90; Canadian, 4; English, 67.

This settles that the Chinook word for five, "Quinam, or Quunam," is not of Spanish origin, or any derivation of the Latin quinque; and Hale also says that the Chinook jargon numerals are pure Indian.

The Kanaka utterance is so foreign to the Indian ear says Gibbs, that although these islanders were mingled with them many years, not a word from their language has been adopted into the jargon.

The numeral six Gibbs finds common to a number of Indian languages, being in Chinook *Takhum;* in Cowlitz, *Tuckum;* in Kwantian, *Tuckum;* and in Selish, *Tacken.*

The Selish people include the Cowlitz, Kwantlan, Chehalis, and Nisqually, as well as the Chinooks, the Sahaptins, the Yakimas, Klikitats, Nez Perces, and the allied tribes. The Nootkans, Makahs, and Belbella tribes are closely allied.—from George Gibbs.

HALE, Horatio, "Chinook Language," published in 1890. Mr. Hale came first to Oregon, in 1841, as an attache of the Wilkes' Expedition. He then found about 250 words in the jargon: "Of these 18 were Nootkan, 41 English, 34 French, 3 Chinook, 10 by onomatopoeia, and 38 doubtful Chinook or Nootkan. The pronouns and numerals are Chinook." These latter are: Ikt, Mox, Klone, Laket, Kwinnum (quinam), Tayhum, or tahkum; Sinomox, Stotekin, Kwoist, and Tahtelum.

The letters D, F, G, R, V, and Z of the English and French become in Chinook, respectively, T, P, K, L, W, and S. He says of the Chinooks, "they were quick in catching sounds." He gives a specimen of a Chinook song which is certainly pathetic. It is ad-

dressed to a husband in California by a wife left alone with her baby, and both suffering for food:

Kah Mika klatawa?	Where have you gone?
Kah Mika klatawa?	Where have you gone?
Konoway sun	All the day long
Hyu k'ly,	I am crying,
Annawillee.	Your Annawillee.
Oh, nika tenas	Oh, my little one
Hyas klawyum!	How wretched he is!
Hyu k'ly,	He cries very much,
Nika tenas.	My little baby.
Konoway halo	All away gone is
Nesika muckamuck;	The food that we had;
Wake siah mime loose,	Not long hence will die now,
Nika tenas.	My little baby.

Of the Indian languages Hale says: "A surprising number of distinct languages were found to exist in the limited area of Oregon proper. Twelve of the languages were distinct; not in the sense in which Spanish differs from Italian, but in the sense in which the Hebrew differs from the English; that is, they belonged to separate linguistic stocks, utterly dissimilar in words and in grammar."—An opinion wholly contrary to that of Brinton, and unwarranted so far as appears to the writer.

Note, To GULLIVER.—As an exceedingly amusing burlesque of the tedious, but to a wit like Swift, very diverting style of the old navigators, in which all the details were entered with equal importance, the following description of the voyage and storm that brought Dr. Gulliver into the northern Pacific, may be inserted. His narration is: "An active and restless life having been assigned me by nature and fortune, in two months after my return I again left my native country, and took shipping in the Downs on the 20th of June, 1702, in the 'Adventure,' Captain John Nicholas, a Cornishman, commander, bound for Surat. We had a very prosperous gale till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we landed for fresh water; but discovering a leak we unshipped our goods and wintered there; for the captain falling sick of an ague, we could not leave the cape until the end of March. We

then set sail and had a good voyage until we passed Madagascar; but having got just north of that island, and about five degrees of south latitude, the winds, which in those latitudes are observed to blow a constant equal gale between the north and the south from the beginning of December to the beginning of May, on the 19th of April began to blow with much greater violence and more westerly than usual, continuing so for twenty days together, during which time we were driven a little east of the Moulucca Islands, and about three degrees northward of the line, as our captain found by an observation he took the 2d of May, at which time the wind ceased and it was a perfect calm; whereat I was not a little rejoiced.

"But he being a man well experienced in the navigation of those seas, bid us all prepare against a storm, which accordingly happened on the following day; for the northern wind, called the southern monsoon, began to set in." Then follows the noted description: "Finding it likely to overblow we took in our sprit sail, and stood by to hand the foresail; but, making foul weather, we looked if the guns were all fast, and handed the mizzen. The ship lay very broad off, so we thought it better spooning before the sea than trying, or hulling. We reefed the foresail and set him, and hauled aft the fore sheet; the helm was hard a-weather. The ship wore bravely; we belayed the fore down haul," etc., etc., with many terms which are laughable imitations of the sailors' jargon.

After the storm the lands to which he was finally driven are located. "During the storm, which was followed by a strong wind, W.S.W., we were carried by my computation about 500 leagues to the east. . . . We thought best to hold on to our course than turn more northerly, which might have brought us into the northwest part of Great Tartary, and into the Frozen Sea. On the 16th day of June, 1703, a boy on the topmast discovered land. On the 17th we came in view of a great island, or continent." This continent was, according to the course, no other than the regions north of New Albion. This was the land of Brobdignag, and the first thing that he noticed was the immense size of the grass, and trees so lofty that he 'could make no computation of their altitude.'" So even from the first Oregon got a reputation for great vegetation; and big things, including big stories—generally.

HOOD, Samuel, 1st Viscount, 1724-1816; son of a rector of Somersetshire; entered navy at 16, promoted to lieutenant at 22; commander at 30; twice captured a French vessel equal size to his own; with Rodney in West Indies, 1780, and fought against De

Grass; for distinguished services was made a peer of Ireland, as Baron Hood of Catherington; fought during war of 1793 and the Napoleonic wars; 1796 was made a peer of England, as Viscount Hood of Whitley. Was a thorough seaman, though not ranking with first British commanders, as Blake or Nelson.

RANIER, or Regnier, Peter, 1741-1808; of a Huguenot family that came to England after revocation of the Edict of Nantes; entered navy at 15; served at reduction of Manila, and entered service of the East India Company; re-entered the British navy; became lieutenant in 1774, and next year captured an American privateer; in 1777 was commander of ship "Ostrich"; promoted and given command in East Indies; engaged in the war in India, and in 1796 took possession of Amboyna and Banda Neiro; being made very rich by his share of the booty, left one-tenth of his large estate—valued at $1,000,000—to apply on payment of national debt.

FITZHERBERT, Alleyne, Baron St. Helens, 1753-1839; son of a member from Derbyshire; entered Cambridge as a boy, showing abilities which attracted the attention of the poet Gray; after graduation took up diplomacy and foreign residence; negotiated treaties of peace with France and Spain after the American Revolution; envoy to Russia in 1787, and in 1791 was ambassador to Spain to conclude the Nootka Convention, or of the Escurial. Raised to Irish peerage as Baron St. Helens.

TOWNSHEND, IVth Viscount, and 1st Marquis; served with Wolfe in Canada; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1767; bore a conspicuous part in Imperial enterprises; not highly estimated by Lecky, 1724-1807.

VANCOUVER, George, 1758-1798; entered navy at 13; able seaman on Cook's second voyage; served with Rodney in the West Indies; in 1789 detailed with Captain Roberts to South Sea, but commission changed to Northwest Coast with ship "Discovery" bought for the purpose and fitted by himself; discipline was harsh; flogged Lord Campelford three times.

WILSON. Rev. Joseph R., Portland, Ore.; "The Oregon Question," begun in the June, 1900, number of the *Oregon Historical*

Quarterly, extending through two numbers; undoubtedly the best monograph upon a single feature of Oregon history that has yet appeared.

WINSOR, Justin, librarian of Harvard University, "Narrative and Critical History of the United States," Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York, 1889. The most complete collection and affording the most satisfactory critical notes and bibliography of any work before the public. The chapter on Early Discovery of the Northwest Coast, with maps and illustrations, is very complete; also the chapter on the Hudson's Bay Company, and that on the struggle for the supremacy in the old Northwest Territory, Ohio and the country west of the Mississippi.

In the first volume of "History of the Northwest Coast," pages 600-605, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, an extended and complaisant account is given of the journey of Moncachtabe, rendered by him as two words, Moncacht Ape. He says:—"After questioning the narrator closely Le Page du Pratz asserts his belief in the story; and indeed I see no reason to doubt it. The mountains, the river, and the sea are there to-day as Moncacht Ape described them." But examination of the account of this Yazoo Indian shows that certainly the river and the sea coast, and hardly the mountains described by him, or by Du Pratz for him, bear any close resemblance to the Columbia, or our seashore.

The story seems to us more as one of those interesting and valuable myths, belonging with those of Fonte, Maldonado, and Juan de Fuca, than as a reliable account; but still valuable as showing the conceptions of the Northwest Coast and rivers. Condensed from Bancroft's account it is as follows: Not later than 1745 Moncacht Ape crossed the Mississippi, and spent the winter with the Missouris. . . . There he learned the language of the Kansas, the people above. . . . They directed him to continue his course up the great river of the Missouri for one moon, when he could reach certain mountains, exceedingly high and beset with dangers. Then he should turn to the right and proceed directly north, and after several days' march he should come to a river flowing toward the west. This was called The Beautiful River, and it flowed into the great western ocean. "I ascended the river for one month," continues Moncacht Ape, "and although I had gone so far I did not turn to the right, as they had directed me, because for some days past I had seen many mountains which I dare not cross for fear

of blistering my feet." . . . Finding opportunely the tribe of Indians called Otters, to whom he had been directed by the Kansas, he went with them on their return to their own country, westward, and says: "We ascended the Missouri for nine short days, when we turned directly to the north, and marched five days, at the end of which time we came upon a river of beautiful clear water, called for this reason The Beautiful River." His companions plunged in for a bath, but the Yazoo feared "crocodiles," until being assured there were no alligators in this water, he also bathed. Then the Otters going west he accompanied them, "floatingly delightfully with the stream for 18 days, stopping now and then to hunt." His friends, the Otters, then reached their village. Moncacht Ape desired to go forward, but was persuaded to go no farther that season, "because the heat was great, the grass high, and the snakes to the hunter dangerous." Moreover it was necessary to learn the language of the people below, "for it so happened," he says, "that with this knowledge I should be able to understand all the nations which I should find, even to the great water to the west."

The next season he set forth in a canoe well laden with pemmican, and as he continues, "I soon arrived at a small village, whose people were astonished to see me come alone. This nation wear the hair long, and regard all who wear it short as slaves." He found scant welcome until he started to go and proclaimed, "I was charged by Salt Tears to see the Great Roebuck." At this talismanic sentence there came out an old chief, now blind, and the father of the chief first seen, who declared that he was the Great Roebuck; and the traveler's welcome was then made good; the people being astonished also that he could speak their language. As he was to go on, he was given food, one article of which was made from a grain smaller than a French pea; these people having no maize.

Then passing on rapidly he came to within one day's march of the Great Water, but found the people in hiding, from fear of "white bearded men, who came every year in a bark for a stinking yellow wood, and to steal the young women for slaves." The people were fast destroying the odorous wood, so as to take away the attraction that brought the white men. Moncacht Ape was besought, seeing he came from a far country and knew white men, to go with the tribe, and ward off the white men, when they should come; and he agreed to do so, thinking they could be neither French, English, nor Spanish.

"Leaving their camp near The Beautiful River the warriors journeyed five days to a point on the coast where were two great

rocks, between which emptied into the sea a shallow stream, on whose banks grew the yellow wood. It was between the two rocks that the foreigners ran their vessel when they came ashore." The warriors waited seventeen days, when a vessel came, and after four days, when the strangers had sent thirty men ashore, who were scattered through the forest gathering the wood, fell upon them, killing eleven, and driving the rest back to the ship. But two of those killed had guns, with powder and ball. "The bodies" which Moncacht Ape then examined with care, "were thick, short, and very white; the head was heavy, the hair short, and instead of hats they wore cloth wound around the head." Their clothing was neither of wool nor bark but more like old cotton as worn anciently by Europeans. The clothing for the leg and foot was all one piece.

After having assisted in destroying the obnoxious strangers Moncacht Ape went with a tribe that had come from the North to their village, but reaching this was dissuaded from going further, as the old men told him that the country beyond was "cold, barren, and tenantless"; and he thereupon returned to his own people, the Yazoos, near Natchez, having been gone about five years. He was there an esteemed old man, called the interpreter, from knowing many languages, when Du Pratz saw him.

Almost every important item in the above shows that it was fiction, and shows no correspondence with what a traveler would find reaching the Columbia. Not over five hundred miles up the Missouri from the Kansas he found high and difficult mountains to the *right* of the river—where are now the prairies of South Dakota. After "nine short days" up the Missouri, which certainly would not bring him and his Otter friends above some point in North Dakota, the party turned directly *north* and came to The Beautiful River flowing west. This could not possibly be less than five hundred miles east of any water of the Columbia. Besides that no mention is made of crossing any mountains; and still further The Beautiful River was said to flow rather northwest; whereas any branch of the Columbia found by this route would flow south, or southwest. Besides this the river as described answers not the least to the Columbia, of which it could not be said, broken and difficult as it is for navigation, that a canoe on it could be "floating delightfully for 18 days." Nor again would it be said of any part of the Columbia that a traveler would stop on account of the heat, or that the grass would be so tall as to hinder the hunter, or snakes stop him. The whole scene, both of the location, the course and the character of The Beautiful River, is not from the Columbia,

but the imaginary stream to the north, that flowed westward parallel to the Missouri flowing east, and that went north of the Rocky Mountains, which here broke down to the Northwest Passage, and the Straits of Anian; just as Carver imagined it. The same may be said of the further adventures. The Great Roebuck, the Indians whose heads are not mentioned as flattened, the strangers that came to gather odorous wood, and who were short and thick, strangely dressed, but still very white, and wore beards, and who cannot therefore he identified with either Japanese, Russians, or Aleuts, are all evidently fictions, and might very well be styled "ornamentations," by Greenhow. The only possible "yellow stinking wood" that any strangers would gather would be the Port Orford cedar, which is so far out of the reach of any tribes on the Columbia as to cause them no trouble however much of it was taken. The shallow entrance between two high rocks has no correspondence with any point here; nor—though the yellow stinking wood—certainly not red cedar—was south of the Columbia, and Moncachtabe went north, with the tribe, could it be said of any part of the coast, even up to Bering's Straits, it "was cold, barren, and tenantless."

The probability is that this Indian Moncachtabe had actually met with Flathead or Nez Perce Indians on the upper Missouri, and had learned from them of the ocean, the tides, and the white men with beards, and the Columbia River. But having never seen any of these was left to conjecture the looks of the river, the lower course of which he calculated was much like that of the Mississippi—long, placid, with deep grass occupied with snakes on the shore, and a sultry summer; but no alligators. Conjecturing why the whites should come, and nothing striking the Indians more than the desire of ships for wood and water, which according to their ideas of right the whites came and stole, he supposed it was sandal or some other incense wood that brought them; and his own exploit in killing them—being careful to show that they were neither English, French, nor Spanish, and although white, to describe them so as not to be mistaken—would follow as a matter of course. Some basis of fact, but mostly imagination, and himself never west of the Rockies.

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